Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-90-086 *3 May 1990*

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Anti-Albanian Serb Propaganda Viewed

AU0205201090 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Apr 90 p 4

[Mehmet Elezi article: "The Reversed Nomenklatura of the Truth"]

[Text] The lack of evidence to back up the accusation of counterrevolution, which led to the release of A. Vlasi and 14 other innocent prisoners in Mitrovica, has also brought to light once again the nature of a propaganda campaign that for 10 years on end has served as a theatrical curtain either to conceal or to embellish the tragedy of Kosovo. Aristotle said some 2,300 years ago: "Amicus Plato, sed magis amica est veritas" (I am Plato's friend, but I love the truth more). Generations have passed on this model of moral principle, whose origin lies in such an ancient hearth of European civilization as the Balkans. Although latecomers to these regions, the Slavs, too, were to appropriate the substance of this saying, making it their own. However, it appears that the Great Serbs have made it their own by turning it upside down.

"From the start of the counterrevolution in Kosovo," "a hostile counterrevolutionary activity"... The word "counterrevolution" had been added on, inside and out, thousands of times in the pages of all official reports, newspapers, and speeches. It was used to define all those frank and peaceful Albanian boys and girls who asked for no more than some basic freedoms and rights in Kosovo, bloodstained and insulted to the marrow.

Suddenly, it appeared as if the charm of this entire tirade had begun to fade. The definition of "counterrevolutionaries" fell into oblivion. Was it because realism had started to predominate?

Something else had happened. This type of accusation started to fail to arouse the desired reactions in the international public opinion. Its effect was not only far from being spectacular, it could hardly manage to win ordinary supporters. In some countries, people who aroused sympathy because they opposed the oppression by self-styled "revolutionary" regimes were being defined with this same term. That is why this particular appellation was badly compromised. The failure of the Mitrovica trial was to place the lid on the whole matter.

Propaganda based on the laws of the market economy needed another kind of supply to meet the demand. Therefore, TANJUG hastened to declare that the masses of tens and hundreds of thousands of demonstrators in the cities and in the villages were, all of them, none other than destructive Albanian nationalists and separatists. Especially separatists—what a magnificent discovery. Had Europe not drawn its lesson from history? The violation of existing borders can be tolerated by no one. And then, Helsinki 1975. The appellation separatist was to irritate and send shivers to all reasonable people on the continent.

However, it is precisely all the reasonable people on the continent who notice that no separatist idea has ever appeared in any of the slogans shouted by the demonstrators, nor in any article or interview. They all declare that they are for Yugoslavia, for coexistence with the other peoples of the federation, but on the basis of equality and justice for all.

This is one aspect of the matter. What about the other aspect? The word separatism is slowly beginning to divest itself of its original load; it is no longer such a bogey to European opinion, to which even the possibility of border changes in conformity with the aspirations of people for self-determination is no longer taboo. If Albanian separatism and its efforts to change borders exists only in Belgrade's fantasy, this has become a real apparition elsewhere on the continent. The German question is being placed on the agenda. And what about the "rebel" Baltic republics, and particularly Lithuania? And then Georgia. Even in the Ukraine, there is no lack of calls for independence.

Well then, we must take a look at the fashionable demands these days; we must bring something else into the market. What is currently in fashion? Well, those horrendous pictures of terrorist acts are very much in the minds of people, those scenes of the results of that blind violence that cannot distinguish between the innocence of a newly born child and the most hardened criminal. Eureka! We have it! The Albanians are acting "from the blackest positions of terrorism." "Albanians—terrorists." Well now, this is a symbiosis that will really shake the world!

However, this joy, too, is rather short-lived. The U.S. ambassador in Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmerman, declares that the American public finds it difficult to understand how people can be terrorists when they demand democracy and human rights; they find it difficult to understand how the Albanians can be termed as terrorists when 49 of them have been killed, and not a single Serb or Montenegrin. The civilized world is at pains to understand the dimension of the terrorism of a Milot Kryeziu, nine years of age, the youngest Kosovo martyr in 1990, who was perhaps slain by one of those 20mm-caliber bullets banned for use even in war by international convention, as verified by the Helsinki Commission. Not to mention dozens more killed by dumdum bullets in the streets or in their courtyards.

Meanwhile, the international media, intellectuals, and progressive or even only objective public opinion speak and write about an unprecedented state terrorism in Kosovo, perpetrated by Serbia. The accusation of terrorism thus turned gradually into a boomerang.

In order to escape this boomerang, the accusation of terrorism must be replaced by some other variant. Contemporary European arsenals are rather impoverished with regard to suitable definitions and practices such as the holocaust where classes of Albanian schoolchildren are turned into gas chambers. Well, one must turn for

help to some other era or continent to find suitable definitions. And here we are: "Everything that is happening in Kosovo is connected with the penetration of Islam" and "This drama contains elements of Islamic fundamentalism." Nevertheless, TANJUG is not satisfied with this, and adds: "What is taking place in Kosovo is aggression with elements of a Jihad [holy war]!"

To make it all very plausible, Belgrade goes on to say that in Kosovo even the Catholic Albanians are supposedly being tortured mercilessly by their Moslem brethren. Everything could have turned out well if the Kosovars themselves had no mouths to speak with. And it is precisely those who are "persecuted" who deny these lamentable accusations. Dr. Dom Lush Gjergji, a high-ranking cleric in Kosovo, states in the student magazine BOTA E RE [THE NEW WORLD] and elsewhere that "the one-sided view of events in Kosovo, and particularly the accusation that they are primarily a manifestation of Islamic fundamentalism, is a mistaken one.... Such an interpretation serves only evil intentions." And he adds that "the religion of Albanians is Albanianism." Others are of the same opinion. The programs of the Kosovo alternative groups, elected by the people themselves, call for democracy, human rights, and dialogue and have nothing in common with any kind of fundamentalism.

The time has come again to find a new war horse. One ancient tactic is to accuse others of one's own sins. It is not difficult to add a few zeros behind a number and the result is that Albania is filled to the brim with all kinds of southern Slavs, not only in the south, the east, and the north, but even in Tirana, Durres, and deeper in the interior. And they are, all of them, subjected to "terror" and nothing else! Some difficult questions arise in this connection, however. Questions like: Thousands of Kosovars who were expelled from their lands in the Yugoslavia of the twenties and thirties of this century, and who were sunk into the marshlands up to their necks by King Zog, were Albanians; in fact it is precisely because they were Albanians that they were expelled and persecuted. While now, miraculously, they have become Slavs.

Moreover, it is possible to speak about the treatment of Slav minorities in Albania, but is Albania not the only country in the Balkans that has recognized even the Macedonian minorities by name and given them all the rights, in conformity with the Constitution?

It is difficult to imagine whether any new elements invented by the Great Serb propaganda will be added to this reversed nomenklatura of the truth. On the whole, experience has shown that truth can be immersed, but it does not drown; it can be worn thin, but it never breaks. Time works for it. Reason and the democratic processes taking place in various parts of Yugoslavia itself, as well as the interest in peaceful coexistence in the Balkans, invite the response to the hand extended in friendship by the Albanians on both sides of the border to no longer be a clenched fist.

Brilliant minds have entered history, like those who filled and brought to life the shelves of the Alexandria Library, as well as like those who burned this miracle of mankind. It would be tragic if anyone would now, toward the end of the 20th century, envy the deed of the latter, dreaming of a political equivalent in the Balkans.

Israeli Official Arrives To Restore Relations

AU0205165990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens has arrived in Bulgaria on an official two-day visit. At Sofia Airport, he was welcomed by Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov. During the visit by the Israeli foreign minister, diplomatic relations are to be restored between Bulgaria and Israel.

Arens 'Confident' of Prospects

AU0205190790 Sofia BTA in English 1805 GMT 2 May 90

["Arens Trusts the Future of Israeli-Bulgarian Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 2 (BTA)—Mr. Moshe Arens, who arrived on an official visit here today for the restoration of diplomatic relations between Israel and Bulgaria, is confident of their fine prospects. "We have been waiting for this moment for 23 years, which is a very long time," the Israeli foreign minister told the press at Sofia Airport.

The guest assessed in positive terms the processes of democratization in Bulgaria and this country's efforts to get integrated into the community of democratic nations. He sees the geographical proximity of the two countries and the presence of a considerable number of Bulgarian Jews in Israel as factors for the promotion of mutually advantageous cooperation.

"I believe that there are sound foundations for the development of cooperation," said the Bulgarian foreign minister Mr. Boyko Dimitrov. He stressed the shared interests of the two countries to develop along democratic lines in the conditions of wide-ranging mutually advantageous cooperation.

Mr. Moshe Arens began formal talks with his hosts immediately after his arrival.

Arens, Dimitrov Start Talks

AU0205201390 Sofia BTA in English 1902 GMT 2 May 90

["Bulgaria, Israel To Renew Diplomatic Links Tomorrow"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 2 (BTA)—The restoration of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Israel is a logical and necessary step, the two countries' foreign ministers Mr. Boyko Dimitrov and Mr. Moshe Arens stressed at their formal talks here this evening. The two chief diplomats agreed that this act is in the best interests of the two countries and peoples and that it does not damage their relations with third states.

The two foreign ministers described the step as a result of the processes of democratization in Bulgaria and of the new realities in international politics.

They considered the opportunities for the promotion of economic and cultural cooperation.

The restoration of bilateral diplomatic relations is expected to be formalized tomorrow [3 May].

Lukanov Meets Arens

AU0305081290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] On 3 May, Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov received Israeli Foreign Affairs Minister Moshe Arens. Issues related to bilateral cooperation and the prospects of developing economic relations were discussed.

Diplomatic Relations Restored

AU0305092490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] On 3 May, the foreign ministers of Bulgaria and Israel signed a joint declaration on restoring diplomatic relations between the two countries after an interruption of 23 years. A protocol on economic cooperation also was signed.

BSP Spokesman Accuses TV of Partiality

AU0205201490 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 2 (BTA)—A spokesman for the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] today accused the Bulgarian Television of giving preferential treatment to the opposition's canvassing and thus of violating the roundtable agreement.

In a pathetic televised statement Mr. Filip Bokov warned the viewers: "They are taking the liberty of manipulating you."

In his view, this tendency endangers the democratic process in Bulgaria.

Minutes earlier the television reported that according to an audience research sample poll, 85 per cent of the viewers are pleased with the TV news coverage and trust it, 42 per cent of the respondents believe that the television is impartial, and 20 per cent expressed no opinion. Ninety-six per cent of the 2,700 viewers interviewed watch newscasts regularly.

The spokesman for the former Communist Party complained that the television devotes twice as much time to the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] and that the film and video footage leads the audience to believe that the opposition is getting the upper hand. He described the reports as "strongly manipulated" and the editing as "tendentious."

"The television is turning into a SDS notice board, and some anchormen are becoming its spokesmen, the political preferences of 'Every Sunday' (the most popular TV news and views show) are already clear," Mr. Bokov claimed.

Two months ago, Mr. Bokov served as chairman of the then Television and Radio Committee, but was replaced after twenty days in office amidst stormy protests and demonstrations in front of the TV headquarters and after he was elected member of the incumbent BSP leadership.

ASO Clarifies Intentions in Campaign

AU0305125890 Sofia BTA in English 1211 GMT 3 May 90

["ASO (Alternative Socialist Association) Seeks Confidence at Any Cost"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—Not power at any cost but confidence even at the cost of power: That is the slogan raised by the Alternative Socialist Association (ASO). According to it the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] still sees itself only as a ruling party. ASO is a faction of the BSP but declared that it will participate in the elections with an independent list for which it has been reproached by the BSP and the oppositional SDS [Union of Democratic Forces—UDF] and ASP (Alternative Socialist Party, which separated from the ASO).

At a press conference today ASO leaders confirmed their idea about a left democratic political center. They are holding talks with the Party of Labor and the Confederation of the Non-Party Men. They understand that such center cannot be established before the elections and that the difficulty comes from the polarization of society but does not exclude the possibility to reach agreement for a coalition in the future Parliament. ASO sees as its possible partners some of the parties included in the SDS and among the reformers in the BSP. These are formations which have not broken up with socialism but do not identify it with communism. The members of ASO reject bolshevism.

The association does not consider itself as a great power but thinks that its existence is necessary for the country as a possibility to overcome polarization. The leaders do not make forecasts about the results of the elections but apparently they are hoping to pass the four percentage threshold. It became obvious that ASO will raise the candidature of highly respected persons like, for instance, Academician Kiril Vasilev, the TV journalist Ivan Konstantinov, the critic Ivaylo Znepolski, the writer Kiril Donkov. While the BSP will rely on many people from its "old guard" the ASO list will also include candidates of other organizations.

The association will not juxtapose oppose the suitable candidates from the other lists. As examples for that were pointed Dr. Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] Leader Viktor Vulkov, ASP Leader Nikolay Vasilev, as well as some of the BSP candidates. At the same time ASO has information that its candidates will be backed by basic organizations of the BSP.

Tomorrow ASO will publish its election platform. Its members approve in principle the BSP platform but with substantial changes and amendments.

Appeal To Avoid Layoffs During Campaign

AU0205191390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] We have received a declaration from the government, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, and the National Alliance of Economic Leaders that states:

The first free elections in Bulgaria are approaching. They are of crucial importance for implementing the peaceful transition to a democratic organization of society. In the election campaign, all the political forces must enjoy equal rights, possibilities, and chances to participate. In the spirit of the agreement reached by the National Roundtable, it is not permissible to organize political activity, including any preelection functions and activities, at workplaces.

We declare that we categorically oppose all attempts to politicize labor relations to benefit or harm any political force in the election campaign.

Guided by this view, the government, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, and the National Alliance of Economic Leaders make an appeal to refrain from job reductions in enterprises and establishments until the elections for a Grand National Assembly are over. This would avert fears that the job cuts might be used to apply administrative pressure upon the political orientation and free declaration of the will of workers, specialists, employees, and leaders.

During the election campaign period we appeal for everything possible to be done to guarantee conditions for productive labor at all workplaces, to avoid social tensions and conflicts, and to create a calm working atmosphere.

In cases where the job reductions are connected with partial or complete liquidation, with a change in the form of ownership, or with an arrangement reached with the collectives in accordance with the collective labor agreements, one should observe the requirements contained in the General Agreement of 15 March 1990, as well as the provisions of Council of Ministers Decree No. 57 of 1989.

The determination of the workers and employees who are to be laid off should be made in conditions of complete openness and according to a democratic procedure, excluding subjectivism and arbitrary decisions.

Restoration of BSP Membership Requested

AU0305085390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Apr 90 p 2

[Darina Radeva report: "Zhivkovism Did Not Spare the Communists"]

[Text] A total of 2,009 applications for party membership restoration were submitted to the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Central Commission on Party Ethics, and 1,622 of them have already been processed. The majority of the applications contain requests from former party members for the restoration of their party membership, or for the recognition of their uninterrupted party service. In some cases, people were expelled from the party for formal reasons, without considering their real qualifications. In other cases, party members were expelled for having criticized shortcomings, weaknesses, and vices in our country's sociopolitical and economic life. A third group of members were expelled for their active opposition to the authoritarian regime.

Georgi Vulkov from Sofia was a member of a group that printed and distributed materials unmasking the April line. During the investigation conducted against him, he behaved in a dignified manner and resisted the threats, insisting that he had acted as a real communist. At its last session, the Commission on Party Ethics approved his request for total political rehabilitation and uninterrupted party service.

So far, the Central Commission on Party Ethics has restored the membership of 76 Socialists—people who have always loyally served the party—while 39 people were rehabilitated.

BSP Denies Foreign Currency Deals Allegation

AU0205120190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 Apr 90 p 5

["Letter received by DUMA" from the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) Supreme Council's Commission of Financial and Economic Issues; date not given: "There Was Export, but Currency Was not Intended for BSP"]

[Text] In connection with the uproar that the export of about 300 metric tons of newsprint recently fanned, DUMA received a letter that reads:

The Commission on Financial and Economic Issues at the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] investigated the facts related to the articles that have been published in DEMOKRATSIYA and SOFIYSKI VESTI, and the Bulgarian Television reports. With the kind assistance of "Intercommerce" and the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, we were able to establish the following:

1. The newsprint involved in the deal was the property of a Soviet organization. The "Exportles" Soviet Foreign Trade Trust managed the entire deal, and it was not carried out at the expense of the quota of Soviet newsprint that the Soviet Union contractually supplies to Bulgaria. The "Exportles" Soviet Foreign Trade Trust instructed our "Intercommerce" foreign trade company to re-export about 300 metric tons of newsprint.

The interests of Bulgarian newsprint consumers have not been, and could not be, affected by the re-export. All conditions of the resale—price, transportation, buyer, insurance, and so forth—were determined by "Exportles." This Soviet foreign trade trust contracted with our "Intercommerce" company, through its "Ardex" subsidiary in Switzerland, that "Intercommerce" serve as middleman, and "Exportles" paid the usual commission.

Consequently, the deal involving the temporary import and resale of the newsprint is a normal one rather than a "clandestine" operation, as has been alleged.

2. Preliminary talks have taken place about the possible participation of interested Soviet organizations, through "Exportles," in the production of printed matter in Bulgaria on the basis of the publishing-printing complex that is being constructed by the BSP.

It is well known that noted West European publishers—such as Maxwell and Springer—have shown interest in the enterprise.

In connection with those plans, "Exportles" instructed "Intercommerce" to temporarily deposit the foreign currency obtained as a result of the re-export in the BSP's only convertible foreign currency account. This is the account of the former Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party—the present BSP Supreme Council.

3. Later, apparently because conditions had changed, "Exportles" requested that "Intercommerce" transfer the foreign currency obtained from the re-export to "Exportles" in Moscow. Therefore, for its part, "Intercommerce" requested the BSP Supreme Council to transfer the foreign currency to "Exportles." This has been done and the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank has transferred the amount.

The Commission of Financial and Economic Issues at the BSP Supreme Council categorically declares that the party has not received foreign currency from other states and organizations. The BSP is strictly implementing, and will continue to implement, the agreements that have been signed with other political forces in Bulgaria, and is strictly observing, and will continue to observe, the country's laws.

Editorial note: DUMA requested a copy of the documents that confirm the letter's contents. The Editorial Board has received the documents.

National Radicals Mark Adoption of Christianity

AU0205184990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] This evening a solemn procession and meeting, organized by the Bulgarian National Radical Party, was held in front of the Memorial to the Unknown Soldier in Sofia to commemorate the 1,125th anniversary of the baptism of the Bulgarians.

Addressing a large crowd, the speakers stressed the immense political importance of the adoption of Christianity, and described it as the first step made by Bulgaria on the road to Europe.

It was emphasized that the Bulgarian National Radical Party declares itself against any attempts to disunite the Bulgarian people.

UDF Belene Commemoration Rally Viewed

AU0205182590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Apr 90 p 1

[Report by Belene correspondents Nedyalko Atanasov and Blagoy Tsenov: "Commemoration or Election Rall?"]

[Text] Belene, 29 April—Was this intended as a commemoration or an election rally? Perhaps both, because on the second day of the national commemorative event in Belene, numerous supporters of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] arrived from all over the country, in addition to former prisoners and camp inmates.

The opposition leaders Professor Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, Milan Drenchev, Dr. Petur Dertliev, and others arrived around 1100 at the so-called Project No. 2 on Persin Island. Next to the rostrum on which they stood, a large, nearly seven-meter-high cross was erected to symbolize the unmarked graves of those who died from natural causes and from violent death. Paraphernalia bearing evidence of everyday life in the camps, such as small water cans, wooden litters for carrying building materials, and piles of clubs, also were displayed.

The words of numerous speakers revealed sincere sorrow and expressed justified anger against violence and impunity. Nevertheless, it was not the first time that the crimes and evil acts of the totalitarian system were ascribed to the party as a whole. On several occasions, the speeches were interrupted by boos and cries against the "killers." The vocabulary used at this rally was enriched by words that we prefer not to mention out of respect for our readers. Addressing the former prisoners and camp inmates as "esteemed martyrs and heroes," Zhelyu Zhelev stated that communist totalitarianism in its essence was an original form of fascism.

The participants in the rally adopted a resolution to the UN secretary general in which they denounced all forms of left-wing and right-wing dictatorship as an instrument of suppressing democracy.

Zhelev Discusses Opposition's Foreign Policy

AU0305084990 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 23 Apr 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces Coordinating Council, by Silviya Stefanova; place and date not given: "The Balkan Floor"]

[Text] Pinned down by the "iron curtain" of socialism, the Bulgarian lives with the fairy tales of his own magnificence. Following the speeches, old corpses emerged, while the false myth spread by the nomenklatura about Bulgaria's international prestige disappeared into the archives.

I interviewed Zhelyu Zhelev in the interval between two conferences about the true dimensions of our country's foreign policy.

[Stefanova] Mr. Zhelev, could you comment on the influence of the totalitarian regime on Bulgaria's foreign policy?

[Zhelev] It was disastrous. In saying this, I am thinking of the fact that thanks to the totalitarian system and the image of the Stalinist Soviet Union, we were placed in the humiliating position of the most loyal satellite of the USSR, deprived of any individuality, and this debased our sense of national dignity.

[Stefanova] Do you believe that in the conditions of the acute economic crisis this ideological dictate may be replaced by economic compulsion?

[Zhelev] I think that the economic crisis creates conditions for escaping from the impasse in which we are situated because the crisis cannot be overcome by palliative measures. Economics does not tolerate dogmatism. This is why even the leadership of the renamed Bulgarian Communist Party was obliged to adopt concepts and plans in the economic field that are strikingly different from its previous ideas.

[Stefanova] May we expect that economic interests will, by and large, dictate our country's political bias in the future, irrespective of which government is in charge?

[Zhelev] This is an axiom about which there can be no question.

[Stefanova] What foreign policy program is the Union of Democratic Forces offering the voters?

[Zhelev] First of all, we reject outright the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty, which required that the country's national sovereignty should be disregarded for the sake of the supposed interests of the so-called "socialist community." Such a position cannot by justified by any considerations of an economic, political, or ideological nature. We are categorical on this point.

As far as our international relations are concerned, we will definitely align ourselves toward West Europe and

the developed countries of the modern world. We consider that this is the only way by which we can emerge from the economic crisis and develop a state with a modern economy and a modern democratic state organization. At the same time, we will maintain good relations with the USSR because for a long time it will continue to be a large market for our goods, as well as an exporter of the raw materials that we need. We stand for relations based upon equal rights, mutual benefit, and respect. Friendship between peoples can only exist when one tells the whole truth about the economic interest of each of the partners.

Conditions exist within the framework of a united Europe for us to gradually normalize our relations with Turkey and Yugoslavia. We are even thinking of possibly building a "Balkan floor" in the common European home.

[Stefanova] Will your program provide any possibility of improving the situation of the ordinary Bulgarian citizen who decides to work or travel abroad?

[Zhelev] Our program will open up wide opportunities for all those who want to travel or work abroad. Notwithstanding this, our chief aim will be to change things in Bulgaria so that it is not necessary for people to seek their fortune outside the country. One's own house, villa, and car are not luxuries, but part and parcel of the commonly accepted European standard of living and way of life. The Bulgarian people must be able in a timely way to resolve their main living problems in their own country.

Further on Citizens Voting Abroad

AU0305090790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Apr 90 p 2

[Mitko Bozhkov report: "Where and How Should Bulgarian Citizens Abroad Participate in the Elections?"]

[Text] Polling stations will be installed in our embassies and consulates abroad. Every Bulgarian citizen resident abroad is entitled to come to them, and after presenting his Bulgarian foreign travel passport, enter the "dark cubicle" where he is expected to place the ballot of his choice in an envelope and drop it into the ballot box. The fact that he has voted is marked on his passport.

Candidates for deputies cannot be nominated from abroad. There will be no second election round in foreign countries. Bulgarian journalists, candidates' representatives, and representatives of parties and coalitions are entitled to attend the voting and the counting of votes. Other guests and local mass media representatives can be invited by polling commission members, but only after consulting the respective Bulgarian ambassador or consul.

Bulgarian citizens abroad will vote for candidates of single-member constituencies in Simitli, Belogradchik, Lukovit, Dobrich (municipality in the town of Tolbukhin), Sozopol, Elkhovo, and the town of Elin-Pelin. The votes of the party election tickets will be added to the votes in the following multiple- member constituencies: Blagoevgrad, Vidin, Lovech, Tolbukhin, Burgas, Yambol, and Sofia.

Elections abroad can only take place with the approval of the host country. The rules according to which Bulgarian citizens are entitled to vote will be announced in accordance with the legislation of the host country. A polling station can be established only if the number of voters is greater than 20 and less than 1,500. Polling commission members will be nominated on the basis of proposals submitted in writing by Bulgarian political parties and election coalitions, or by their representatives appointed in writing (including fax messages).

Who is qualified to vote?

The right of voting applies to Bulgarian citizens permanently living abroad, or to Bulgarians who are temporarily living abroad for other reasons. Bulgarian citizens who are willing to vote, but about whom our missions have no available data, are entitled to submit a request to be included in the voters' lists, and are requested to submit their applications no less than seven days prior to the elections. They can submit their request by paying a personal call to the mission, by telex, telefax, or telephone.

Who is entitled to prepare the voters' list?

This is the obligation of the respective ambassador or consul.

Can the decision of a polling commission abroad be contested?

Yes, but complaints should be addressed to the Central Election Commission.

These are the major aspects of the decision adopted by the Central Election Commission on where and how Bulgarian citizens abroad should vote.

BZNS Greets Bulgarian Church on Anniversary

AU0205134390 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 27 Apr 90 p 1

[Undated message from the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union's Permanent Board to Patriarch Maksim on the anniversary of the establishment of the Bulgarian Church]

[Text] To His Holiness Maksim, Bulgarian Patriarch.

Your Holiness,

We would like to express our respect and sincere hope that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Bulgarian Exarchate have finally been resurrected after almost 50 years of forced oblivion, and that the importance of their mission will be assessed on its real merits.

For 1,120 years, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church was the warm fireside that preserved the core of our national spirit and consciousness. Even in the coldest darkness of oppression, it flickered and gave light and warmth. It kindled the fire of our nation's self-awareness and reminded us that oppression is alien to our national character.

Now that the layers of social life and human awareness are moving and many people are sinking into the depths of doubt, disappointed by their fallen idols, injured in their souls, and deprived of their confidence, it is namely the church—with the virtues that it has disseminated throughout the centuries—that can sow the seeds of understanding, tolerance, and respect even for opponents who think differently, as well as faith, much faith in the virtue vested in every man and his logical striving for progress. This will be a contribution to the wisdom of mankind and their spiritual resurrection, despite the worldly tests.

Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union.

Petkov Agrarian Union's BZNS Criticism Deplored

AU0205131390 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 29 Apr 90 p 1

[Zhelyu Zhelev article: "Spoken Word"]

[Text] If we follow the logic of the proverb "a spoken word is like a stone that has been cast," it will become clear that the representatives of the "Nikola Petkov" Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] have thrown a lot of stones into the garden of the BZNS.

Words like "servants," "traitors," "sycophants," "lackeys," and so forth, used by NARODNO ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME to describe those members of the BZNS who do not want to cross the road and join the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS, mark the vocabulary of our colleagues.

Yesterday, Mr. Milan Drenchev startled TV viewers with the announcement that the BZNS members in Sofia's "Sredets" Municipality had joined the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS. Only a few minutes beforehand, I had returned from a meeting of the same BZNS branch, at which a provisional leadership was elected and examples were cited of how many members had found themselves, through manipulations, listed in the lists of the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS. The meeting was also covered by yesterday's issue of ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME. Mr. Drenchev also asserted that throughout the country many BZNS members had changed sides and joined the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS.

I will allow myself to clarify something: Members are changing sides, but they are doing this in both directions, and not in such numbers as some people would like to believe!

There are more facts that evoke puzzlement: A few days ago, we received a telephone report that Zdravko Sokolov, union organizer of the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS in Kyustendil, had made a unique personal contribution to his organization's election policy by declaring, "We will admit even fascists to our ranks!" In addition, Ivan Ginchev, a speaker from Pleven region, apparently exasperated by the impossibility of ensuring the desired influx of BZNS members into the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS, had stated: "Let those flunky sheep do whatever they want!"

I would immediately like to ask: Has anybody read in ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME any insults directed at the leaders or groups of the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS? Has anybody seen or heard any false information provided by the BZNS leadership to the Bulgarian radio or television?

I do not want to be misunderstood: The sharp pen of the journalist has always been a sign of ability and courage, especially if the piece was written before 10 November 1989. However, this pen should be sharp enough to tear the page on which it writes. Furthermore, every journalist should remember the eternal maxim: Think before you write, and not the other way around!

Friends, supporters, the day on which both organizations will become one is near.... How can we look each other in the eye after so many insults?

Tens of thousands of BZNS members are now "gathering" the stones that have been thrown into their gardens, but they do not intend to throw them back. This demonstrates the scope of their dignity!

'Mineralbank' Financial Difficulties Denied

AU0205141790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 Apr 90 p 1

[Report on interview with "Mineralbank" Director Rumen Georgiev by DUMA correspondent Mara Georgieva; place and date not given: "'Mineralbank' Is O.K.; Maxwell Demands Shares"]

[Text] According to the rumor, the "Mineralbank" for economic initiative has gone bankrupt.

This rumor, to put it mildly, is insolvent, said bank Director Rumen. In recent years there was not a single case in which "Mineralbank" stopped payments or failed to meet its obligations toward Western partners precisely. The bank has not gone bankrupt and is not in difficulty. The proof—in the last 10 days alone, we opened 15 new credit accounts for various organizations. In addition, in April we received a credit line from two Western banks to the tune of DM27 million. "Citibank," one of the best-known U.S. banks, continues to act as "Mineral" consultant. Several credit lines that were halted during the first week of the moratorium on payments to Western banks have been restored. To this

I could add the willingness of Western banks and businessmen, including Mr. Maxwell, to buy "Mineralbank" shares.

[Georgieva] Against the background of those facts what could have prompted the rumor?

[Georgiev] The manner in which the moratorium of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank was announced on 28 March, and its content, created many difficulties for our commercial bank. Only on 25 April were the foreign banks notified by telex by the Bulgarian National Bank that the freeze on payments applies only to the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank and does not affect our commercial banks. However, our credits were blocked until the telex was sent. Nevertheless, we used our own assets to fulfill our obligations. I would like to assure our partners in Bulgaria and abroad that "Mineralbank" is and will be able to strictly meet its obligations.

Radiation Risk From Uranium Mining Viewed

AU0205133390 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 26 Apr 90 p 2

[Veselka Vasileva article: "Are the 'Carats' of Bulgarian Uranium Glittering?"]

[Text] Nowadays the Bulgarian, the European, and urban man in general exhibit a "nuclear allergy" to the subject of the peaceful atom. As far as the Bulgarian is concerned, even strong doses of the truth are of no help in curing the radiation phobia bequeathed to us by Chernobyl.

Once upon a time there was an enterprise hidden in mystery—this is how the tale begins about the "Rare Metals" Company. It was said that the company produced uranium, but it was dug out by convicts under the death sentence. The rumor transferred to Bulgarian soil the dead Siberian fields near Bukhovo, where people were supposed to extract gold for "golden" wages. The rumor spread because state secrecy imposed official silence. Now chinks have appeared in the boundary wall surrounding the company, and revealed behind the wall a muddy yard full of holes from the economic crisis.

Uranium is mined in Bulgaria, but 68 percent of it is obtained by "washing" poor seams underground. I have not been down in the mines, but I have visited the probe drilling operations in the Upper Thracian Plain and seen the readings on the test instruments, so that I am far from wanting to "draw the line" under the geotechnological method, which increasingly has been fiercely attacked by writers and broadcasters.

Specialists, excuse me, but please do not discard the following lines, as they give the ordinary reader an idea about "underground hydrometallurgical uranium extraction." Here one is dealing with a "sandwich" that nature has thrust underground by the force of water. In the middle of this sandwich lies a bed with a low concentration of uranium, which must be extracted. A necessary condition is that the sandwich is impermeable to water from above or below, in order not to contaminate the underground waters.

Specialists, please continue.

In 1988 about 2,000 tonnes of the total 5,900 tonnes of uranium produced in the United States were mined by the geotechnological method. It can hardly be said that until recently the Americans, Canadians, or Czechs had more liberal environmental protection legislation than us....

What is the real point of dispute?

—There is no argument about the economic advantages (plus the important fact that workers engaged in this type of production are for all practical purposes not exposed to radioactive irradiation). The installations are profitable and still needed, if only to supply the "antique" Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, in the event of us giving up nuclear power in the future. There is no argument either that the "Rare Metals" Company can strike a rare blow by extracting vanadium, molybdenum, cerium, tschermigite, alum, and sodium sulfate.

—However, the water provokes controversy. An expert commission appointed in December 1989 by the then State Committee for Environmental Protection faced us with the need of making an immediate choice between extracting uranium, thereby contaminating the underground waters, according to the commission, or utilizing the rich freshwater basin lying beneath the Thracian plain. Having reached this conclusion on the basis of extensive data, the experts recommend...collecting extensive data on the same problem. I know some of the experts who signed their names under these findings. I am sure that they want the best for both the economy and nature, but I also know how many "punches below the belt" are dealt by such hydrogeological debates.

There is no end to the technical details of how and why the underground waters cannot be "contaminated." Problems do exist, but there is also speculation about overflows of the flushing solution (accidents occur in two to three percent of all probe borings). There are also claims in connection with the recultivation of fertile land in the region of the October Combine. Mining work was conducted there from 1968 to 1989 on over 6,000 decares of land, then more than 3,000 decares were excluded from the operations, which, after recultivation (using a method developed by the Pushkarov Institute), is producing agricultural output valued at over 4 million leva. According to the estimates of the farms themselves, not using the fields for drilling has been fully repaid by the average annual harvests.

The path to the apple of discord in the back yard of the "Rare Metals" Company turned out to consist of numerous typewritten pages of details. An objective favorable report by Czechoslovak specialists on the

ecological risk in the Thracian plain was followed in 1989 by...an objective unfavorable report by a 13-man commission of different experts. In their report to Nikolay Dyulgerov, chairman of the former State Committee on Environmental Protection, the commission, while admitting the higher ecological efficiency of the fundamentally new method used, confirmed extensive overflows, an increased gamma radiation background and beta activity, and high concentrations of heavy metals in the underground waters. These findings are followed by proposals, references, and notes.... In a word, the accumulated debt has to be paid.

Some of those who signed these findings have carried this burden of duty for years as they ascend the levels of the official Bulgarian environmental protection structure. During this ascent, they acquire a marvelous knowledge of the offices of directors old and new, and are fully aware of two facts. First, no probe boring was started without a permit from the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare and, second, the "Rare Metals" Company could draw no bonuses from the bank without the signature and seal of the former enviromental protection committee. What happened with the "affected" drilling installations over the years? Well now, everything was reported to be in order, there was no case of failure to fulfill environment protection measures. With the exception of former Chairman Georgi Pavlov, who "trimmed" the bonuses of certain specialists by up to seven percent, this optimistic statement was supported by Todor Bozhinov (in 1986) and Engineer N. Genchev, chief secretary of the committee (in 1989).... Many people turn out to be "all square" with the "Rare Metals" Company. I know that chairmen and ministers do not write the documents themselves, but who presented them for signature? Surely the the members of the expert commission have not forgotten? Or perhaps they think that their badges of honored protectors of the environment, won in the "Rare Metals" Company, will be taken away from them? Perhaps the past award of a Dimitrov Prize will even be questioned in hindsight! In the final analysis, it seems that the protection of the earth's depths will prove to be a victim of totalitarianism, along with its chiefs....

Our readers should not think that everything in "Rare Metals" is now fine. Slogans are clear to see around the installations in the Yambol and Plovdiv districts. On my desk in front of me I have many reports and information: on measurements in the "Debur" District of the town of Purvomay concerning external gamma radiation and "latent" energy of alpha-particle decay; on an inspection carried out in the village of Okop, with analyses of the drinking water, water used for crop sprinkling and irrigation, and the gamma radiation background; on measurement of the radiation background in the village of Tsarimir and at the 6th September Mine; and another report from Purvomai... signatures of local Ecoglasnost organizations, the regional environmental inspectorates, people's councils, and journalists confirming that the data shows no deviations from the maximum permissible norms.

The files also contain other reports stating that before 10 November 1989, the inspection bodies were restricted from entering the "Rare Metals" Company sites. These are predated by other reports from the same period, with recommendations from the regional environmental inspectorates in Plovdiv and Pazardzhik. Which am I supposed to believe—the experts, the documents, or people's fears? A real mixup, someone might say. However, I think that there is a certain order in things, an order that relieves "top people" from responsibility. Thus, a report or two can take the place of one or two resignations, if people do indeed die in the areas of the probe borings. In two months time, the present or the new government should decide the fate of the "Rare Metals" Company. Some sites are being shut down, others may be closed; some workers lose their jobs, while others may remain. Meanwhile, the shrouds of fear and distrust in the water, land, and life itself will hang over the Thracian plain. I know that the people in Okop, Rakovski, and Tsarimir don't believe the "stories from Sofia." However, they must believe in the proposal of Lyubomir Minev, chief assistant and director of the dosimetry and radiation protection laboratory in the Physics Department of Sofia University: "We have known our colleagues from the 'Rare Metals' Company laboratory for a long time, and I have had no doubt concerning their results. Their reports and independent measurements have shown the true picture, as it really is. The panic among the people, caused by lack of information, started with Chernobyl, but now we can and must establish the truth."

In his proposal, L. Minev added that the specialists from the university and "Rare Metals" are ready for all the sites where uranium is extracted from underground to be visited and inspected. They invite representatives of the public and all those interested in the truth. Perhaps the instruments will prove more accurate than the rumors?

Radicals Condemn Turkish-Language Muslim Daily

AU0105182890 Sofia BTA in English 1707 GMT 1 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 1 (BTA)—The publication of No. 1 of the MYUSYULMANI [Muslims] newspaper in Turkish is described in a statement of the Bulgarian National Radical Party as "a violation of the Constitution and of the National Assembly's January 16, 1990, declaration on the ethnic issue."

The Bulgarian National Radical Party joins the April 27, 1990 appeal of the NARODNA ARMIYA daily that the Prosecutor General's Office look into that "unlawful act," the statement says. The Bulgarian National Radical Party sides with the declaration of the Intellectuals Club at the Bulgaria Association and will support the appeal of the Nationwide Committee for Defence of National Interests for strike action if no measures are taken to suppress the MYUSYULMANI newspaper in Turkish.

'Clandestine' Soviet Unit Near As Raises Concern

LD0205201590 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Soviet troops are also a stone's throw from the border with the FRG, in As headland. A recent hurricane also helped uncover for the eyes of the wider public the facility (Na Pate) (?near the approach road) to As. Buildings with a satellite and other aerials and apartments for officers' families are visible. A similar complex is several kilometers farther away in Horni Paseky. Of course we did not get through the gates of either unit, which, though equipped with fewer arms, are rumored to comprise specialists with a knowledge of many languages. The date of their withdrawal from our territory is also surprising. They will allegedly be the last to leave.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] What, in your view, is the reason for scheduling the departure of these units last or during the last phase?

[Unidentified speaker] To me this seems absolutely incomprehensible because the fact that these are probably the so- called special assignment units [jednotky zvlastniho urceni] is a public secret. Generally, we think these units should not be the last ones to leave, but, on the contrary, they should leave as soon as possible. It is even said among people that these are the KGB units.

[Reporter] Do you have any idea of the date when you would like to see the end of these units' activity here?

[Speaker] A petition was sent to Foreign Affairs Minister Dienstbier and the Federal Assembly in which we demand the departure of Soviet troops by July. [end recording]

The reason for scheduling their departure last is allegedly that these are not armed units. In this case they should, therefore, have none of the usual technical difficulties. However, their other clandestine mission gives rise to considerable concern.

Soviet Army Damage in Olomouc 168 Million Kcs

LD0205205990 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Damages totaling 168 million Korunas [KCS] have so far been incurred by the Soviet Army during its stay in the city of Olomouc. Houses, appartments, airports, and storage sites in particular were damaged. It will be necessary to pull down many houses because of their damaged foundations. It will be necessary to spend on average of 50,000 Kcs on repairing the apartments in the remaining houses. Journalists learned these and other facts at today's Civic Forum news conference in Olomouc.

U.S. Help Sought in Repairing Soviet Base Damage

LD0305075490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Czech Premier Petr Pithart said in Washington that Czechoslovakia would need U.S. financial and technical help because the repair of damage on vacated Soviet military bases is beyond our financial and technical abilities.

The Czechoslovak side has had no access to Soviet military bases for 20 years. The ecological situation on the territories of the vacated military bases is made more dramatic by the fact that we do not know where toxic substances or containers with various chemicals have been buried.

The U.S. company (Martech) has confirmed at a news conference that the cleaning of the Soviet base in Frendstat pod Radehostem alone will cost $2.5 million. U.S. contracts and orders connected with the protection of the environment in Czechoslovakia so far have not yet reached $5 million. Thus, this is only the beginning, and it is important also to get the know-how.

Havel News Conference on Israeli Visit

LD0205130490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 2 May 90

[News conference with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel by local and foreign reporters at Prague Castle—live]

[Excerpts] [(Hokejova)] (Hojejova), LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE. Mr. President, recently you held talks with PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat, and then you visited Israel and held talks with top representatives there. I would like to know now, after your talks, what is your view of the possibility of finding a solution to the Middle East conflict and has it changed in some way after your talks? [passage omitted on Havel's most memorable impression of trip]

[Havel] I must admit that after my visit to Israel, my basic political impression has not changed. I believe as I did before that sooner or later some kind of talks must be held—that is, direct talks between the representatives of the Palestinian people and the people of Israel, and possibly the best starting point for such talks could be the five-point plan put forward by Mr. Baker. I have noticed that Palestinians, including Mr. 'Arafat, are ready to start talking on those grounds, as are some of the Israeli politicians, and this prospect also enjoys a considerable support from the Israeli public. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. President, your talks with Palestinian representatives were held behind closed doors. Some time has since elapsed; can you now tell us something more about those talks?

[Havel] Yes, those talks indeed have not been intended for the public and their aim was for me to get acquainted with those Palestinian leaders who live in the occupied territories, for me to learn about their stands and views and some facts—and this did happen. They, on the other hand, wanted to acquaint themselves with us, with our delegation. I regard this as a very good thing and very purposeful that this meeting took place even if it could only last an hour. Our program was so busy that the meeting could not last any longer. However, representatives from various occupied territories—including a representative from the Gaza Strip—were present.

[Unidentified journalist from (?Syrian) newspaper] You have agreed on the transit of Soviet Jews via Prague to Israel on the condition that they will not then be sent to occupied Arab territories. At present, I recall the words of the Israeli foreign minister at a news conference during his recent visit to Prague, that Israel, as a democratic country, cannot force anyone to live anywhere. Thus I ask you, Mr. President, what guarantees from Israel will be enough for you, to assure you that Soviet Jews will not be settled in occupied territories and if this settlement should take place, what would be your reaction? Thank you.

[Havel] The talks about the possibilities of the transit of Soviet Jews via Prague are only beginning. There is not any concrete agreement yet, and it depends, of course, on the political development in Israel itself as to what kind of possible guarantees we shall receive. I have said quite clearly to Mr. Shamir and to others that we would welcome some kind of political guarantees that the refugees from the Soviet Union would not be accommodated on those occupied territories and whether this should be a matter for a kind of a political agreement or what kind of political guarantees this would eventually be. This is difficult to establish at present as the talks have not yet started. This requirement of ours proceeds from our conviction that it is not possible—artificially or forcefully—to change the ethnic composition of the population anywhere. [passage omitted on fair play during election campaign; Havel's impressions of historical places in the Middle East]

[Mlynar] Mlynar from LIDOVE NOVINY. I have two questions: Your foreign policy from the surface looks very successful. Are there any failures and if so, can you tell as what? And the other question: In Israel, you learned about the Arab problem. Can you, in this connection, tell us your view on the position of the Vietnamese in Czechoslovakia and their future?

[Havel] Yes. It is not, or course, my job to assess the successes or failures of our foreign policy. This must be done specifically by someone who is watching it from the outside. I know about many such specific successes of that policy, whether during a visit to any country—I could brief you on this, or various advisers or experts or ministers could report on it. But, on the whole, the success can hardly be assessed in a given moment because politics, well, this is a continuous process, full of ups and downs, and something that looks like a failure today can turn out to be our success the day after tomorrow. This is difficult to assess, for a seed sown somewhere does not germinate immediately, but in a year's time. I would not like to say that we are able to assess the success of our foreign policy.

Concerning the other problem, I feel that the various instances of racism in our country—the persecution of Romanies or the Vietnamese—have several aspects: First, it seems to me that people, because they have not been free for a long time and have lived under a totalitarian system, have forgotten somewhat what freedom is. They have forgotten that freedom is only one side of the coin, the other side of which is responsibility. They believe that freedom is the right to do anything—not to buy a train ticket to travel, for example. And, of course, with the explosion of freedom there has also been an explosion of all the latent irresponsibility that is within people, and all the various dark and bad sides of human beings have exploded, too. This is only natural. However, it seems to me that in the case of this specific problem, there are also other aspects. It seems to me that some manifestations of the persecution, of racist attacks by skinheads against Romanies or Vietnamese... it seems to me that it is as if they are being inconspicuously provoked somewhat by someone from somewhere. There are some facts which indicate this—for example the timing—that in some places such incidents take place suddenly, and so on. It also seems to me that there are those who, so to speak, put the problems in motion or provoke them in a certain way, while those who are taking part in the incidents do not even know in what game they are taking part. Those, the very same ones, it seems as if they are sometimes active in the sphere of information, too, and when an incident takes place, then it is blown out of proportion many times and it seems then that it is worse than, in fact, it was.

The third point: The friends of those old orders, as I call them, they exist and work, and the sphere of muddying the waters, confusing people and misinformation, reducing the respect towards our country—all this is precisely the soil they are working on, is it not so? It also seems to me that the fact that we are restructuring the entire security apparatus—and this is an extremely complex process and has been somewhat slowed down in recent time, but fortunately this has now been solved with various arguments around the Ministry of Interior concerning its future concept and so on. And the security force—the one being born or, respectively, the old one that is dying—for various reasons, which I could illustrate fully, cannot yet fulfill the mission that it should be fulfilling, that is, to prevent such matters and to deal with them resolutely if they occur or if they are beginning. [passage omitted on Havel's mediating role in Middle East, Minister Sacher, the appointment of an advisor on agriculture, Havel's philosophical views, views on role of president, art and culture]

[Benda] Benda, Czechoslovak radio. I have two questions that widely differ. First, allow me to return, Mr.

President, to your visit to Israel. What can a politician find in that state as a positive example for our republic and what, on the contrary, are the examples of steps he should avoid? And the second question is how did you like the May Day celebrations in Prague in which you personally took part?

[Havel] [passage omitted] Concerning your question about the May Day celebrations: I spent about two-and-one-half hours walking through the well- attended Majales celebrations in Prague, and my main impression was that people behaved quite naturally, normally—everyone was doing what he wanted to do. Of course, there have been fewer slogans, posters, and flag-waving, and so on if compared with previous May Day celebrations. It could seem at first glance that it was poorer, but in fact it was more natural. People were not directed to do this or that, and no one stood on the platform for six hours waving his hand like this. It was such an atmosphere of freedom, friendship of human beings. [passage omitted on human rights in occupied Arab territories]

[Unidentified Mexican television journalist] Mr. President, what do you think about the current situation in Cuba, and how do you see prospects of relations between Czechoslovakia and Cuba? Thank you.

[Havel] As I know from some utterances of Fidel Castro and from what I know about the country, I feel that Cuba (?will not) cool its relations toward Czechoslovakia. It seems to me that Cuba, just like other countries—in the past called the Soviet bloc or peace camp or camp of socialism—stands possibly before great historic changes. This is obviously an unavoidable process. [passage omitted on concluding remarks by presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky]

Standpoints on German Reunification Viewed

AU0205181590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 28 Apr 90 p 2

[Pavel Sar article: "What About the FRG's Nuclear Weapons?"]

[Text] The question of the future of U.S. nuclear weapons deployed on FRG territory has become the subject of a nervous discussion on the eve of the "four-plus-two" meeting, which is to be held during the first week of May. All the problems connected with the reunification of Germany will be discussed at this meeting. Nevertheless, it has become apparent that the further existence of nuclear weapons on FRG territory can become a stumbling block for unification efforts.

Unclear and sometimes contradictory information is coming from Moscow about the Soviet attitude toward Germany's future. It seems that its neutrality is no more the "conditio sine qua non." A more unequivocally negative attitude is adopted by the Soviet representatives toward Germany's membership in NATO—while the possibility that the Western bloc armies would not enter the territory of the former GDR and, on the contrary, that the Soviet Armies would be allowed to stay here for a transitional period of three to seven years, still remains open. NATO representatives, however, anticipate that the USSR will insist on the denuclearization of West Germany as a preliminary condition for German reunification, which could, according to them, provoke a serious crisis in the "four-plus-two" talks. (The United States, the USSR, Great Britain, and France, plus the FRG and the GDR.) The West cannot ignore that the West German public does not hide its desire to get rid of all the nuclear weapons currently deployed on German territory. According to the latest opinion polls, this is the wish of a full 85 percent of respondents, and 95 percent are of the opinion that there is no military threat from the East anymore. East Germans want the same, and practically all West German representatives to the left of Kohl's Christian Democrats will support this demand. According to NATO calculations, it would be quite possible that at the "four-plus-two" meeting, the votes will even out: three to three (Both Germanys and the USSR against the United States, Great Britain, and France).

According to a U.S. analysis of the Soviet attitude, the situation looks as if Moscow was playing for both time and dignity. Its [Moscow's] only certitude is its military presence in the GDR, against which the West can do only a little. Gorbachev will meet with problems, however, on how to save face. He cannot stand up in public and say that he has lost Germany as well as the Warsaw Pact and that everything remains all right. He will have to find a strong argument against those who say that he has lost. Here he has a number of trump cards in his hand. The deployment of Soviet troops in the GDR is among them as well as the demand that if Germany wants to unify, then all foreign troops must be withdrawn from its territory. U.S. diplomacy—building on these and similar ways of thinking—is now wracking its brain about how to firmly keep the reunited Germany in NATO and how to yield some elbow room to the Soviets at the same time. It [U.S. diplomacy] is willing to tolerate the continuing presence of Soviet troops in the Eastern part of Germany, but, as for the nuclear weapons, it plans to insist on their further existence on German territory if the USSR has similar weapons aimed at the West.

It is possible to anticipate some concessions, however. Washington has announced already that it will not modernize short-range missiles of the Lance type, most of which are deployed in the FRG and aimed at the GDR. So far, the White House has shown an uncompromising attitude toward Moscow's demands to withdraw all nuclear weapons from Germany, including missiles carried by aircraft. To keep this attitude will not be easy for the West since the Germans want a fast reunification and Bonn faces the December elections before which it will be willing to make many concessions.

News Conference Previews Assembly Session

LD0205193690 Prague CTK in English 1257 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—The joint meeting of the House of the People and the House of Nations of the Federal Assembly, which started here today, will be the last and at the same time the longest of the Czechoslovak parliament in the current election period. This was said at today's press conference.

The parliament will be in session for at least five days, i.e. till May 8, including a weekend intermission.

The deputies are to discuss 26 draft amendments to constitutional laws, new laws, changes in laws and international treaties. Originally the parliament was to end its work before the start of the election campaign to be able to concentrate during the whole of May on the activities of political movements and parties in connection with the parliamentary elections on June 8-9. But in the atmosphere of changes caused by the peaceful democratic revolution at the end of last year the parliament has not managed to carry out a number of legislative solutions and adopt various measures.

Deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly Zdenek Jicinsky told the press conference that it is necessary to adopt new legislative regulations in the interest of further peaceful development of various spheres of life in Czechoslovakia. The restoration of Czechoslovakia's good reputation abroad, including a quick admission to the supreme parliamentary body of the Council of Europe, is connected with the adoption of amendments to penal laws. The parliament has counted neither with a set of these bills, nor with bills connected with the elementary and university school system, Zdenek Jicinsky underlined.

The agenda of the longest session will also include replies by federal government members to more than 20 interpellations of deputies, including the most delicate and ticklish problem connected with the solution of the situation at the Ministry of the Interior which is to be treated by Richard Sacher. This session will not be broadcast by radio and television to prevent the misuse of parliamentary debates for the election campaign.

Constitutional Amendments Passed 2 May

LD0205163790 Prague CTK in English 1435 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly today approved amendments to the constitutional law on Czechoslovak Federation that has been in force since 1968.

At an opening session of the parliament's two chambers, the deputies approved amendments based on previous proposals of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, who recommended that the results of the June parliamentary elections should be in force only for two years. That is why the term of the Czechoslovak president that is set for five years according to the 1960 constitution has also been changed. "The term of office of the president elected after the free, democratic elections to the Federal Assembly in the year 1990 will last for 24 months", the amendment said.

Another amendment to the constitutional law on Czechoslovak Federation concerns the environment. In the interest of the systematic tackling of ecological problems, the amendment strengthens mainly the responsibility of the federal bodies and creates conditions for close cooperation in the framework of the two parts of the federation—the Czech and Slovak Republics. At the same time, emphasis is put on the extention of Czechoslovakia's share in international cooperation in the sphere of the environment, both in a regional and global scale.

Further on Session

LD0205201990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] [Announcer] The 28th joint session of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of the Nations began in Prague today [2 May]. Vaclav Klement reports from the Federal Assembly's debating chamber:

[Klement] The agenda of this five-day session of our highest legislative body was being finalized right up to the last minute, so the deputies received the agenda more than an hour late, and this also delayed the beginning of the session, which is the last one in the current electoral term.

The first three items on the agenda were constitutional bills. The first, which was approved without problems, set the president's term of office after this year's elections to the Federal Assembly at 24 months. The next bill was about the State Defense Council; since changes have taken place in its composition and the federal premier has been appointed to head the council, its secretary is to be the director of the defense and security department of the Office of the Federal Government Presidium. This law, too, was passed by the deputies. The third constitutional bill regulates the jurisdiction of the republics in environmental protection. State administration of environmental protection will be carried out primarily by bodies of the two republics; among the activities in the jurisdiction of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic will be fundamental legal provisions for the protection of the atmosphere, water, soil, and forests, responsibility for drawing up state environmental policy, and the organization of international cooperation. A demand for a federal committee for the environment to be set up as soon as possible was also raised in the debate.

The three government-sponsored bills containing amendments and addendums to the penal law, the penal code, and the law on serving prison sentences were rather extensive. At the beginning of the discussion, it was stated that they did not cover everything required and

therefore it was necesssary to set about reworking the concept of these bills promptly. The law on serving prison sentences, in particular, needs a new and more up-to-date legal basis, because this is perhaps the area in which we are lagging farthest behind the rest of Europe. The new version of the penal law stresses the differentiation of criminal responsibility, and it does away with the most serious shortcomings and provisions that could present an obstacle to the development of the newly emerging relations of a democratic society, particularly economic relations.

After a lengthy discussion, Prosecutor General Tibor Boehm gave the concluding speech, and just before we went on the air, the deputies proceeded to vote on the proposed amendments and addendums to these laws. The joint session of the two chambers resumes tomorrow.

Assembly Amends Penal Law

LD0205221290 Prague CTK in English 1948 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak parliament today approved an amendment to the penal law, proceeding from the clear demand to remove all provisions contributing to the protection of the monopoly of the Czechoslovak Communist Party from the penal law which was in force from 1961.

The amendment to the penal law focused on the removal of the most serious shortcomings of the valid norms that could prevent the democratization of social conditions in Czechoslovakia. It abolished, for instance, most of the offences qualified as misdemeanours, as well as the exceptional death penalty. The exceptional penalty will be the imprisonment over 15 years up to 25 years and life imprisonment.

After the working out and approving of a new constitution of the federal republic, which will be the task of the parliament after the June elections, quite a new concept of penal law will be elaborated. The amended law will therefore be valid only for a transitional period.

Approves Imprisonment Law Amendment

LD0205221490 Prague CTK in English 2031 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—The main objective of an amendment to the law on imprisonment, which was approved by the Czechoslovak parliament here today [2 May], is the strengthening of humanization in this sphere.

According to the amendment, acitivities of self-administrations of prisoners should be used more as well as the release on probation should be applied more frequently.

To a greater extent will be used individual and group psychotherapy and knowledge of medicine and sociology in re- education of prisoners. Great emphasis will be laid on individual forms of re-education.

Also humanized will be women's imprisonment. The amendment provides interalia for higher indulgence in hair dressing, better conditions for their personal hygiene etc.

Approves Criminal Code Amendment

LD0205221390 Prague CTK in English 2002 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—The amendment to the criminal code that was approved by the Czechoslovak parliament today [2 May] is aimed at strengthening guarantees of lawfulness.

The amended criminal code extends the right to defence, defines more exactly the steps of the court and prosecutor in deciding detention and creates conditions for broader participation of citizens in criminal proceedings.

The amendment enshrines the right of culprits not to depose and limits the possibility to refuse culprits to talk with a lawyer without the presence of the third person. Extended is the range of persons who use privileges and immunity according to laws and international law. This concerns, for instance, family members of diplomats.

The use of bugging of telephone calls will be limited only to such criminal acts as organized crimes, drug trafficking, international terrorism, etc.

Deputy Premier Analyzes Economic Development

AU0305102290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 90 pp 1,2

[Vladimir Cechlovsky and Pavel Paral report: "Wages Are Growing, Production Is Declining; Federal Government: There Will Not Be a Five-Year Plan"]

[Excerpt] Prague (from our correspondent)— The Thursday [26 April] session of the Federal Government was devoted primarily to the economy. Its agenda included an analysis of national economic development in 1989 and in the first quarter of 1990, the adjustment of this year's plan, and the draft law on the creation of the national economic strategy.

At a news conference after the government session, Vladimir Dlouhy, deputy federal premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, discussed, among other things, the significant decline in the effectiveness of the state plan. After the abolition of the party nomenklatura—which, particularly of late, was the only instrument in the unfunctional system ensuring the meeting of plan indicators—the discipline of enterprises has declined. Liberalization has thus laid bare problems accumulated in the past.

According to Vladimir Dlouhy's words, we have been successful so far in maintaining a stable domestic

market. The only major delivery shortfalls concern shoe supplies from Slovak enterprises—which, after a significant overfulfillment of the 1989 tasks, represent only 88 percent of last year's level—and deliveries of passenger cars. A very negative fact is the 6.2 percent increase in cash income in the first quarter of the year, compared with the same period of last year. Wages have increased 4.7 percent, income from agricultural activity 11.9 percent, and income from social payments 1.7 percent. Other types of income, which include income from foreign exchange accounts and transfer payments from abroad, have increased as much as 20.3 percent. While earnings are growing faster, production declined to 98.4 percent [of its level in the first quarter of 1989]. It has become apparent that one cannot rely on the existing system of wage regulation, which is why the State Planning Commission should submit to the government a proposal for inevitable measures. It should do so within two to three weeks.

In preparing the adjustment of the plan for this year, it was necessary to take into account the impact of the restrictive state budget, the advancing disintegration of supplier-user relations, and some other circumstances. The purpose of the adjustment is to tackle the situation in the national economy before economic balance is established.

Vladimir Dlouhy described as unfavorable this year's results in foreign trade in relation to countries with convertible currencies. Asked whether imports of raw and other materials from this area are guaranteed, V. Dlouhy said that traditional imports are provided for. Because some planned imports from CEMA countries will not materialize, however, it will be necessary to import from this area also some additional materials, such as manganese or nickel. Owing to delays in deliveries of refined sugar from Cuba, which is having problems with this year's harvest, it will also be necessary to obtain sugar in nonsocialist countries and to export sugar later.

The situation in imports from CEMA countries also makes it necessary that our enterprises approach exports to them with greater responsibility. The government has therefore taken steps whereby enterprises failing to meet planned exports to which imports of raw and other materials are tied will have to finance the shortfall in imports from their own foreign exchange revenues, over and above the proportion which they are obliged to surrender under the foreign exchange retention quotas.

Asked about the impact of the aforesaid shortfall in imports from CEMA countries on the foreign debt of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, V. Dlouhy said that purchases in freely convertible currencies made for this reason will cost 800 million korunas. The original proposal was that the repayment of our foreign debt be reduced by this sum. The government decided, however, to cover this sum from its foreign exchange reserves, which were planned at 1.5 billion korunas. The foreign exchange reserves will thus amount to 700 million korunas.

The adjusted plan for this year will be followed up by a stabilization program, whose aim is to ensure a smooth transition until the crucial reform steps really start to take hold. The stabilization program will be submitted to the government by the end of June. The economic development will not be regulated by means of directives, as has been customary thus far, but by the concerted effort of banks, the State Planning Commission, the ministry of finance, the founders of enterprises, and entrepreneurial circles. The draft law [on national economic strategy] which the government approved is of great significance in this respect. It abolishes the law on national economic planning, which means abolition of the central plan in its present form, including the medium-term plan. [passage omitted]

[Prague PRACE in Czech on 27 April on page 2 carries a 350-word report on Dlouhy's news conference, which quotes the deputy premier as saying that the "cost-of-living index increased 3.4 percent in the first quarter of the year, compared with 1.1 percent in the same period last year."]

Government Spokesman's 2 May News Conference

LD0205203390 Prague CTK in English 1622 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky told journalists here today that the aim of the visit of U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to Czechoslovakia on May 5-8, 1990 is to learn about the new concept of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy and its political development.

Javier Perez de Cuellar will hold talks with Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, at whose invitation the visit takes place. He will also meet with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, Premier Marian Calfa, chairman of the Czechoslovak Parliament Alexander Dubcek, and in Bratislava with Slovak Premier Milan Cic and Chairman of the Slovak National Council Rudolf Schuster. The U.N. representative is expected to deliver a lecture at Comenius University in Bratislava.

Lubos Dobrovsky and Svatopluk Buchlovsky, director of the "CSCE and Warsaw Treaty Department" of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, informed journalists of today's meeting of Jiri Dienstbier with the ambassadors of the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The meeting focused on the Czechoslovak initiative that was sent to the ambassador in the form of memorandum on April 6, 1990 and that contains the proposal to establish a European security commission.

Referring to Jiri Dienstbier's statement at the meeting that the memorandum strives to form new European security structures but is not aimed at abolishing the existing European military blocs, Lubos Dobrovsky said that a new European security structure must be built gradually. The first stage should serve the exchange of views. In this connection, Lubos Dobrovsky pointed out Jiri Dienstbier's proposal to establish a Prague-based group of experts.

The spokesman informed journalists that the ambassadors will meet in May to discuss the Czechoslovak memorandum concerning the establishment of a European security commission. In September or October 1990, an international conference on European security and the commission should take place in Czechoslovakia, Lubos Dobrovsky said.

U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Shirley Temple-Black and West German Ambassador Hermann Huber have accepted the Czechoslovak memorandum positively though the U.S. side expects further details in several points. The Soviet stand, which was earlier restrained, is now one of the closest to the Czechoslovak stand, he said.

The spokesman informed journalists that during his visit to Strasbourg on May 10, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel will deliver a speech in which he will deal in detail with the questions of establishing a European security commission.

Director of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministery's department for Arab countries and Israel Zdenek Motalik spoke of the Czechoslovak Presidents visit to Israel on April 25-27. He pointed out that Czechoslolvakia's policy as regards the Middle-East crisis is characterized by its balanced relation to both sides.

Czechoslovakia is for solving the crisis by peaceful means. According to Zdenek Motalik, relations with the two sides are important for objective evaluation of their efforts.

He said that Prague could become a venue of a meeting of participants in the Middle East crisis. Both Zdenek Motalik and Lubos Dobrovsky emphasized the role of Arab countries as important political and economic partners. According to Lubos Dobrovsky, Czechoslovakia must reconstruct its policy towards Arab countries and rid itself of ideologically-based stands.

TV 'Election 90' Program Carries Party Platforms

LD0305032590

[Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak alternately at 1450 GMT on 2 May begins a regular television election broadcast introduced under the title "Election 90". These broadcasts will contain contributions produced by individual parties, movements, and coalitions themselves. In accordance with the election law, Czechoslovak Television will provide four hours of transmission time for each party, movement, and coalition during the election campaign.

The method of allotting individual spots for contributions was done by a computer and by drawing numbers to ensure that all parties and coalitions have equal representation for the duration of the entire campaign and in all transmission times. At the same time, it was agreed that should a party fail to provide a contribution in the agreed time, the time allotted to it would be filled by musical features because it is impossible to alter and shift transmission times of the other parties. Three parties out of the total 17 which presented their election programs today have failed to submit their contribution for today's broadcast.

The two-hour transmission is filled with one-minute long trailers urging voters to vote for the All-People's Democratic Party, the Social Democrats, the Freedom Block, the Egyuetteles-Co-existence Movement, the Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party, and Public Against Violence. The three vacant slots are filled with features programs.

The broadcast ends with lengthier programs presented by the Movement for Civic Liberty, the Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding, the Green Party, and the Christian Democratic Movement.

The program of the Movement for Civic Liberty is broadcast in Czech:

"The manifesto of the Movement for Civic Liberty, Democracy for All, came out on 15 October 1988 and was aimed at people who wanted to live their lives truthfully. The Movement is in effect a political child of a nonpolitical charter.

"The twelve points of its program contain practically all important social aspects beginning with the moral renewal of society via political pluralism, the need to change the Constitution and the legal code, economy, and attitude toward the environment, the renewal of freedom of faith and independent trade unions, up to the demand for the demilitarization of society and emphasis on national identity.

"The manifesto Democracy for All marked an historic milestone at that time. In comparison with other resolutions or documents issued by Charter 77, it was the first program manifesto and was signed by all Charter 77 members.

"During the November Revolution, the Movement for Civic Liberty became a part of the Civic Forum. It was legalized in January of this year and, on 4 March, it called on independent candidates to register. The Movement as an organization does not have its own candidates. It is the individual personalities, people of various professions, who are not members of any political party who stand as candidates and who present their own

election programs. The Movement has decided to conduct a clean election campaign....

"The list of independent candidates representing the Movement for Civic Liberty is the only list of candidates drawn up by the voters themselves by way of petitions. Vote independent candidates and you are voting for democracy."

The program of the Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding is broadcast in Czech and Slovak alternately:

"The Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding strives to strengthen democratic Czechoslovakia as an indivisible common homeland founded on a federal principle. It strives to tackle the position and relations amongst Czech and Slovak nationalities and ethnic groups on the basis of equality and the preservation of their identity. It will strive to eliminate all surviving prejudices in mutual relations.

"Normal, peaceful, and balanced coexistence of sovereign nations and nationalities is enormously important today. The Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding is a movement of those who regard the whole and undivided Czechoslovakia as their homeland. It is essential to not be strangers to each other. People who are not yet divided by political and economic conflicts will not find it difficult to stand firmly on the common land. One friendship, one relation of mutual trust, is worthier than a zealous political speech. Frontiers that separated brothers from brothers, sons of one mother, were dismantled. The biggest dream of our fathers and brothers became a reality. Let us educate our free nation in the spirit of Czechoslovak statehood."

The program of the Green Party is broadcast in Czech and Slovak alternately:

"The Green Party has come into existence to remedy man's negative impact on the environment and to tackle the crisis of morality, ethics, education, health service, industry, the economy, and a number of others in which our society has found itself. It has founded its activity on the knowledge that human society is a part of the ecosystem of this planet. This is why the party is being guided by the principles of political pluralism and pluralism of views, advocates the equality of all forms of ownership and the observation of the universal declaration of human rights.

"As its basic tenet the party promotes the rights of citizens to live their lives in a good and healthy environoment and the right of access to truthful information about it. The party will strive for a rapid and thorough remedy of the damage done by man to our nature and country during past decades. This is why the party wants to invest large resources to improve the basic conditions of the life of man, to ensure good quality of drinking water, cleaner air, and safe food.

"These resources can, however, only be produced in an economically strong state. The party believes that ecological economy is the only alternative for the development of healthy and perspective society. This is why the party will push for a gradual change in the structure and orientation of the whole national economy, in particular for the reduction of the consumption of energy and drawing on natural resources.... The party will restrict the use of natural resources to a rational degree necessary for the national economy and limit significantly the export of raw materials, energy, and partially assembled products in favor of the domestic manufacturing industry....

"The party will encourage private farming, the creation of small family farms, and alternative farming with the aim of producing safe food. The use of chemicals for plant protection and mineral fertilizers will be reduced gradually and biological protection of the vegetation will be developed. The party is decidedly against adding synthetic hormones, anabolic steriods, antibiotics and other synthetic materials to feedstuffs....

"The party is against all forms of violence, hatred, racism and chauvinism. It proceeds from the premise that only a humanitarian attitude to each man, nation, and human society is the guarantee of an ethical attitute toward the protection of nature and countryside."

The program of the Christian Democratic Movement is broadcast in Slovak:

"Christian Democratic Movement will provide during the entire election campaign information about the acitivity of Christian Democratic Clubs and professional associations, Movement's views and standpoints on topical social and political problems and economic questions. The programs will also introduce leading officials of the Movement and candidates to legislative bodies....

"The Movement's ideological base is Christianity, which has passed its test over a period of almost 2,000 years, creating enormous experiences on which the Movement wants to draw. The Movement's main guarantee are the people who make this movement. It sees to it that its officials are perfectly honest and have integrity....

"Christian Democratic movements and parties are active throughout the world and in particular in Europe, where they have achieved outstanding successes. They have scored successes in recent elections in Poland, East Germany, and Hungary....

"The Christian Democratic Movement goes into the election with the central slogan: Strong Slovakia in the Republic, democracy in politics, market relations in the economy, morality in everything."

Civic Forum Broadcast on Composition, Plans

LD0205195190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0905 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] [Jana Hadrbolcova] You have just heard the Civic Forum's signature tune, and we wish you good morning. You are listening to us for the first time today and thus allow me to introduce to you Mr. Jan Urban, a representative of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center.

[Urban] Good morning. Now allow me to introduce you to your guide through the entire Civic Forum preelection campaign—not only here on Czechoslovak radio, but also on Czechoslovak television—Mrs. Jana Hadrbolcova.

[Hadrbolcova] Thank you. Mr. Urban, as a good guide, I shall not waste a second and ask you the first question straight away. What is the Civic Forum at present?

[Urban] Just as at the very beginning, it is still a free coalition of nonparty members and members of a number of political parties and movements who have joined forces with one goal: to win this electon.

[Hadrbolcova] Who, therefore, is united within the Civic Forum?

[Urban] Altogether there are about 17 political parties and movements—I think that it is unnecessary to list them all—just quickly the most important ones—the Democratic Initiative, the Civic Democratic Alliance, the Alternative Left [leva Alternativa], the agricultural bloc of several small agricultural parties, and recently the ever-stronger cooperation with the Party of Defense of Culture [Strana Obrany Kultury], which unites the majority of the best known Czechoslovak artists, and the Popular Club of Committed Nonparty Members [Populami Klub Angazovanych Nestraniku].

[Hadrbolcova] Why does the Civic Forum associate with those other parties and movements?

[Urban] I think that this is only a continuation of something which began long before November when in the opposition a number of civic initiatives cooperated with each other. This is the continuation of the November uprising of honest people when, in the struggle against the totalitarian regime, people united regardless of their political or ideological convictions.

[Hadrbolcova] And the last question for today. What is the goal of the Civic Forum program?

[Urban] To convince the greatest possible number of voters in Bohemia and Moravia that the Civic Forum is here for everyone while parties are here for party members and that in cooperation with the Public against Violence in Slovakia we want—first of all as honest people—to sweep up, to draw lines on the playing field for the future policy. Only when we set the rules can we start playing politics for real.

[Hadrbolcova] Thank you. We are saying good-bye on the radio waves today. You can hear us again tomorrow, Thursday, 8 May, on Prague radio station at 0925 and on Radio Czechoslovakia at 1615.

Civic Forum To Field 550 Election Candidates

LD0205215190 Prague CTK in English 1918 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—The Civic Forum will have 550 candidates in the June 8-9 elections, thus fully making use of the possibility of lists of candidates. The forum is of the opinion that those who will fail will get a good political lesson.

This point was stressed by Civic Forum activist Petr Kucera at a press conference here today [2 May]. The press conference of the Civic Forum was attended inter alia by Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, Deputy Premiers, Valtr Komarek, Vldimir Dlouhy and Vaclav Vales, Ministers Vaclav Klaus and Petr Miller who will stand for the elections as candidates of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence.

Asked about the future development of the Civic Forum as a political party, its activist Jan Urban said that the Civic Forum is not changing into a political party and that it is not easy to describe it traditionally as a "party", "right-wing" or "left-wing". He emphasized the civic attitude and civic responsibility.

CTK Director-General Petr Uhl pointed out that the strength of the Civic Forum consists mainly in the fact that it is not a political party as people in Czechoslovakia do not reject just one party but the party system as such. The civic dimension in Czechoslovak society and the role the Civic Forum will play in it are important nowadays.

Speaking about pre-election meetings, Vladimir Dlouhy and Vaclav Klaus agreed the audiences at them were very attentive although not enthusiastic about everything that will have to be done in the future. Minister Klaus pointed out the fact that the Civic Forum does not promise anything as there were quite a lot of promises in the past 42 years.

A question was also raised concerning the role of President Vaclav Havel in the pre-election campaign. Jan Urban poined out the Czechoslovak Constitution according to which the president of the republic is not affiliated to any party, and said the Civic Forum expects him to play this role also in the future.

Coalition Asserting Slovak Interests Formed

AU0305085590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Apr 90 p 2

["(R)"-signed report: "A Slovak National Block"]

[Text] Representatives of the Freedom Party, the Slovak National Party, and the Independent Party of Slovaks

agreed upon a common strategy for organizing the election campaign and created the Slovak National Block as a political platform for asserting Slovaks' national and state interests during the elections and in the upcoming parliament. The political parties agreed that they would establish common principles for future political activity. Also present at the meeting were the statutory representatives of the Slovak Heritage Foundation, the Stur Society, the Association for Slovak National Revival, the Union of Slovak Teachers, and the Association of Slovak Initiatives, which fully support the efforts of the aforementioned parties for asserting the Slovak national interest.

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VEREJNOST on Slovak, Hungarian Relations

AU0305094490

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 10 April and 14 April, on page 6 in each instance, publishes a 3,800-word article by Dusan Skvarna entitled "Roads Leading Toward and Away From Understanding." The article reviews the history of mutual relations between Slovaks and Magyars.

The author opens his article by musing: "Is it just an accident that for several years now some of the Hungarian press, rather too obviously and too often, stress the wrongs and injustices done to Magyars, that it disseminates nationalism, questions the postwar arrangement of Central Europe, and that it incites disrespect and even enmity to surrounding nations? It draws horrifying images of the Magyars' position in our country, spreads rumors of their persecution and liquidation. By God, they must be confusing us with someone. Is it an accident that M. Szuros, the acting Hungarian president, mailed to our president a letter lecturing him—in a reproachful and self-confident tone—about the need to deal with the ethnic problem in our country? Is it an accident that during these past weeks, G. Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, and others made the observation that after World War I Hungarians lost two-thirds of their territory and demagogically put an equal sign between the Hungarian and German questions? Most recently, he was heard commenting on the unfavorable situation of Magyars in our country.

"One could disregard such judgments aimed at confrontation and distorted views if heard over a glass of beer. The highest state representative, the foreign policy chief, and well-informed journalists, however, cannot have such an unbelievably inadequate knowledge of the past and present of Central Europe and of their own nation and state." According to Skvarna, the persistence with which the Hungarian politicians and media raise these issues "indicates a conscious effort to bring about a confrontation based on a 19th-century mentality."

The author then analyzes the history of Slovak-Magyar relations since the end of the 18th century, contrasting the "tolerant" treatment of Magyars under Slovak rule (such as after World War I) with the "forced Magyarization" policies of the Hungarian side. While discussing the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the author qualifies as "totally wrong" the opinion of G. Horn quoted above (i.e., that Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory), arguing that, prior to 1918, Hungary as a national state did not exist.

Skvarna justifies the choice of the Danube as the border between Hungary and Slovakia as a "logical choice" because an ethnic state in Central Europe was not a plausible alternative at the time. Compared to 1849, the ethnic map became even more complex. As a result of Magyarization, the Hungarian-Slovak ethnic border moved north. Ethnic minorities remained, however, on both sides of the border.

Turning to the situation in mutual relations after World War II, the author says that "under the protection of socialist internationalism, Budapest for decades managed to denationalize Slovaks and other ethnic minorities in Hungary." Only recently, according to Skvarna, have some indications appeared of a better attitude toward the surviving ethnic Slovaks. Nevertheless, he contends that "every observer is shocked by the dismal state of the national life of Hungarian Slovaks." The author believes that Czechoslovakia "has exercised the most just and magnanimous ethnic policy in Central Europe." He calls on the Ministries of Education and Culture "to make public the data on the rights and on absolute and relative financial expenses on ethnic education and culture." He continues with the observation that "under the totalitarian government, the majority of both Slovaks and Magyars were oppressed." Perhaps because of their nationality, Magyars felt the oppression more strongly and as an attack on their ethnic background. Yet, Skvarna says, Magyars in Slovakia have had their culture and they could even associate in CSEMADOK (Hungarian People in Czechoslovakia Cultural Union). Their Slovak counterparts in Hungary, on the other hand, would have to join a Magyar society. He opines that any national activity should be condoned unless it infringed upon the law but adds, however, that "the anti-Slovak and anti- Magyar chauvinist speeches and hostile irredentism inspired by the atmosphere and by some political circles in Budapest are something else." In conclusion Skvarna says: "We do not refuse any sincere advice and help from anybody, including our southern neighbors with whom we are linked by a long history, in dealing with our problems. We do, however, strongly and publicly oppose attitudes lacking objectivity and tolerance, such as those featured in M. Szuros's letter, in G. Horn's words, and in some contributions in the Hungarian media. Their aim is not something constructive but destruction and destabilization. Such comments and reproaches of injustice in ethnic

policies, coming from a side that has done nothing or almost nothing for a just ethnic policy, is a tragic irony. It is a case of the thief yelling 'Catch the thief!' And we have had too much of that on the political stage of Central Europe during the past two centuries. We have had more than enough of insincerity, egotism, lies, wrongdoings, scorn, and imperialism.

"Or could it be that someone cannot learn and cannot see things as they really are? It would then be difficult to take seriously his beautifully sounding words about the common home and confederation."

Need for Czech, Slovak Unity Called For

AU0205135990 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 29 Apr 90 p 2

[Ladislav Kovac article: "We Need To Communicate With one Another"]

[Text] Only a few days after the 17 November events opened the way to a fully fledged political and cultural life in Czechoslovakia, I tried to find friends in Slovakia and Bohemia who would be interested in the idea of publishing a nationwide cultural and political weekly. KULTURNI TVORBA [Cultural Creation] had been such a weekly in the 1960's. On 12 December, when I was nominated as the Slovak Republic Minister of Education, Youth, and Physical Training, I believed that it would not be difficult to bring such an idea to life. I had no success. That is why, at the end of this February, I addressed a letter to the Czech general public which I wanted to be published in a number of Czech magazines. For reasons which I do not understand, the letter has not been published in any of the magazines. A possible reason is that our former Slovak-Czech relations were still almost idyllic. Since then our relations have worsened: The sad and embarrassing dispute over the hyphen in the country's name and the low profile of discussions held in representative bodies—republican as well as federal—stressed dramatically the need for a common forum, for intelligent communication, and for mutual acquaintance.

A new beginning of history in 1989—a step forward on the path toward regeneration and the recovery of our common state—has shown us in what harmony and rhythm the Czech and Slovak national life pulsates. Almost simultaneously, within an hour, the Civic Forum in the Czech lands and the Public Against Violence movement in Slovakia were born. Without knowing of one another's existence, both civic initiatives formulated identical programs. A few days later—still without any major contacts—they made their way onto national television: In parallel broadcasts called Dialogue, in the Czech lands as well as in Slovakia, they unveiled the weakness of the collapsing power and outlined positive solutions for getting out of the material and spiritual morass of the past 40 years.

It is possible to be pleased with the unity of opinions and programs on both the Slovak and Czech sides. Alarm is raised, however, by the fact that both sides act in parallel without giving information to each other and without mutual enrichment. If there is a dialogue, it is a dialogue between the Czechs themselves and between the Slovaks themselves, but this dialogue is not held between the two nations. Instead of a dialogue, we are holding two separate monologues. As long as these monologues are identical, everything is all right, but if they diverge, things will not be all right.

We will diverge in our opinions—and we have to; what kind of democracy would it be if no plurality of opinions existed in it? It is precisely this plurality of opinions from which the collective common sense of society is born. We have been taught a clear enough lesson that sound reason does not reside at the top in the central organs and politburos. Neither does it reside in the government—even if we call it the government of national understanding—nor in representative bodies—even if by coopting new deputies we strip them of their unrepresentativeness. The country's common sense is to be found at the bottom, it emerges from the dialogues and from the discussions held by all of its citizens.

Dialogue does not have to—but can—lead to harmony. Without dialogue we cannot avoid increasing dissonance and divergence. This dissonance begins to appear, such as in discussions which may even be called naive, such as discussions on heraldry, on the country's name. They also appear in far more important matters, in legislative proposals of a broader impact. It is a warning situation that the Slovak National Council has to voice a protest against federal laws being prepared without the council's knowledge and interfering with the council's authority. It is paradoxical that without the knowledge of and approval by the Slovak Republic Government, the establishment of a Federal Ministry for Nationalities is being considered which is supposed to represent the interests of minorities living on Slovak territory. It is still more painful when such an institution is welcomed by the Czech Republic premier, particularly when he is relying on incorrect information.

This is what we are both missing: mutual information. On television we also have a federal broadcast. But this broadcast is an ensemble of nonhomogeneous news from the two sides rather than an attempt to get to know each other, to air a discussion, and to emphasize the utmost importance of common interests. Would it not be desirable to remember every day why and how the breakup of the first Czechoslovak Republic came about?

Czech Agriculture Minister on Privatization

AU0305073190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jan Vodehnal, minister of agriculture and food of the Czech Republic, by V. Bouda; place and date not given: "All Forms of Farming Are Equal"]

[Excerpts] [Bouda] Minister, does your concept for the transition of our agriculture to market economy principles foresee the equality of all forms of farming?

[Vodehnal] Yes, we are convinced that the establishment of equal conditions for private, cooperative, state, and joint-stock company forms of farming is an inevitable prerequisite of further successful development. This should be the aim of all laws and law amendments. I am convinced that large enterprises and private farms cannot only exist side-by-side, but that they can also very successfully cooperate. [passage omitted]

[Bouda] You have surely surveyed interest in private farming. On which scale can it be expected?

[Vodehnal] We know that today there are somewhat more than 4,000 private farmers. The first to join them will be vegetable and fruit growers from suburban areas because even small plots guarantee high earnings here. Indications about interest in private farming in mountainous, submountainous, and border regions, on the other hand, have not been confirmed. So far, everything suggests that in a period of transition, that private farmers will not operate on more than 10 to 15 percent of agricultural land.

[Bouda] The government seeks to restructure and gradually reduce noninvestment agricultural subsidies. Agricultural subsidies exist everywhere in the world, however, though their purposes may be different. What will happen to subsidies in our country?

[Vodehnal] Our idea is that social subsidies in support of life and farming in areas with low soil-fertility should be kept. Furthermore, we propose tax allowances to support privatization. Because the market mechanism is likely to result in rather fundamental changes in the structure of primary agricultural production, we intend to support them. Similarly, we foresee financial support of "organic farming" as well as support for the renewal of agricultural land resources. It can be generally said that every farmer will be able to count on a whole number of diverse subsidies, by which the state will meet society's needs. He who wants to hold his own in the new system will have to adapt to the requirements as flexibly as possible.

[Bouda] Your meetings with farmers and letters addressed to our editorial office confirm that the greatest confusion surrounds land ownership.

[Vodehnal] The principle has already been codified [in the amendment to the law on the use of soil passed by the Federal Assembly on 20 April] that land ownership takes precedence over the right to use land. Our ministry is interested in this problem of principle being resolved once and for all, although it may cause certain problems for today's users [of land they do not own]. Lawmakers are now working on the optimal fixing of land leases and of the "starting price of land."

[Bouda] Most likely prices will not be fixed but based on demand. In your opinion, how will farmers and particularly today's users [of land they do not own] be able to cope with these costs?

[Vodehnal] I start from the premise that the market for agricultural land will become an inseparable part of the market economy. Free market pricing will begin to operate as soon as all legislative prerequisites are established. It is impossible to set any date right now. However, we are opposed, as a matter of principle, to the sale of land to foreign buyers. As for the financial settlement between owners and users, such as cooperatives, for example, out of the diverse proposals that have been put forward, we favor the one for proportional participation by landowners [in profits] according not only to the acreage they put in, but also according to the number of years worked in the cooperative, with the proviso that a part of the shares can be transferred to family members. The new cooperatives should thus become voluntary associations of the owners of invested and created property. It will be up to the members of cooperatives themselves to set such rules of management as will guarantee prosperity.

[Bouda] Thank you for the interview.

Vacek Promoted to Army General

LD0305110190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] By an order issued by Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, Miroslav Vacek, minister of national defense, was promoted today [3 May]—on the eve of celebrations marking the liberation of Czechoslovakia—to the rank of army general.

'Skinheads' Attack Tourists, Vietnamese, Others

LD0205145590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] A press spokesman for the National Security Corps administration in Prague and the Central Bohemian Region provided details about an incident at Wenceslas Square yesterday:

After 2200, about 200 supporters of the so-called skinheads and punk movement gathered there and gradually started attacking dark-skinned citizens. Citizens of Romany origin and Vietnamese—against whom the attack was directed—left Wenceslas Square in time. However, two dark-skinned tourists from Canada were attacked and injured. They were treated at Na Frantisku hospital for cuts and bruises. Two of the most active participants in this incident were detained on the spot. Further investigations are being conducted concerning one of them. He is suspected of committing a criminal offense.

Bratislava PRAVDA Drops Marxist Slogan

AU0305125290

[Editorial Report] In its 2 May issue, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak, the daily of the Communist Party of Slovakia, apparently following the example set by Prague RUDE PRAVO on 27 April, appears without the "Proletarians of the World Unite!" slogan in its masthead.

New Independent Daily To Appear Mid-May

AU0305085990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Apr 90 p 2

[CTK report: "NARODNA OBRODA To Appear in Mid-May"]

[Text] Bratislava—The editorial staff of NARODNA OBRODA [National Revival], a new independent daily, welcomed Jan Dubsky and Vladimir Meciar, ministers of the Slovak Republic Government, at an all-staff meeting yesterday. The publisher of NARODNA OBRODA is the Slovak Republic Government of National Understanding. The new periodical will be an independent newspaper dealing with events in Slovakia, in Czecho-Slovakia, and also on the international scene. From yesterday's meeting it became apparent that the first issue, which was reported to appear on 4 May, will be published in mid-May. The Apollopress will provide publishing services. NARODNA OBRODA is to be published in 100,000 to 150,000 copies and to have 16 pages. The price will be two korunas.

Trade Union Paper Published in New Form

LD0205215690 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 May 90

[Summary] The TRADE UNIONIST [ODBORAR], the trade union newspaper, will be published in a new form under the title PROBES [SONDY] as of tomorrow. The newspaper will tackle the problems of social policy from the grass roots. The first edition is being circulated around trade union organizations by the Prace publishing house. The next edition will be on sale in the press distribution service kiosks.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

Government Spokesman Gives Exchange Rate Details

LD0205124390 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1200 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] At a news conference in Berlin on 2 May, Government Spokesman Gehler gave details of the conversion rates for the introduction of the Deutsche mark into the GDR on 2 July. Children up to the age of 14 can convert cash and savings up to 2,000 marks, persons aged between 15 and 59 up to 4,000, and, for those 60 and over up to 6,000, at a rate of 1:1. Gehler reported that broad agreement had been reached between the governments of the GDR and the FRG on the exchange rate within the framework of the State Treaty. Sums higher than this would be subject to a conversion rate of 1:2. This applies to all citizens with permanent residence in the GDR. Salaries, rents, and grants would also be converted at a rate of 1:1. Pensions and grants would in general be higher than at present, however. Gehler made it clear that there would be no compensation for the removal of subsidies. Private loans and loans for social benefits would be converted at a rate of 1:2, according to the government spokesman.

Krause Satisfied With Exchange Rate Agreement

LD0205135390 Hamburg DPA in German 1258 GMT 2 May 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—State Secretary Guenter Krause, negotiating head in the talks with Bonn on the state treaty, said to the press in East Berlin that he was satisfied with the agreed conversion regulation. This is a good solution, "despite all prejudgments," and far exceeds what was promised in the election campaign.

Asked whether East Berlin did not strive for a better settlement, Krause said that it is a case of the future of Germany, and one must keep in mind not only the expectations of the GDR citizens, but also the expectations of the citizens of the FRG and the stability of the Deutsche mark [DM]. The settlement now planned takes into account the demographic situation in the GDR, and will not lead to a destabilization of the DM.

Asked what total DM sum will be used for the conversion, Krause did not wish to comment. This will be done later. He only said that one will have to base things on the 16.3 million GDR citizens.

Krause pointed out that the GDR mark amounts, exceeding the individual upper limits, will be converted as already planned at the rate of 1:2. In order to avoid abuse, suitable precautions will be taken. There will also be a qualifying date regulation. Krause gave no details here either. In order to reduce the losses from the 1:1 conversion, a documented right to participate in nationally owned property will be granted to savers at the later date.

Krause also announced that fixed rents may be introduced in the GDR for a limited period after the rents are converted to DM. [passage omitted]

PDS Seeks 1:1 Exchange on All Savings

LD0205182990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1716 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] regards an exchange of all savings at a rate of 1 to 1, independent of the amount involved, as justified. In a statement reacting to the exchange proposal, the party supports a release of savings which is socially responsible and gradual. For the GDR population the exchange proposal means that around two-thirds of the savings and cash amounting to 175.9 billion marks will be devalued by one-half. The loss of almost 60 billion marks in savings is thus the price of the monetary union, which is supposed to be paid by the GDR population. Also unacceptable is the conversion of wages without compensatory payments for subsidy reductions and price reform in the GDR, since prices in the GDR will conform to FRG levels almost at once with the monetary union.

Meckel on Pan-European Security System

LD0205080890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0314 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel has conceded that a transitional military structure for the two German states will entail "certain absurdities." He stressed, in an interview published in today's edition of the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, that it is important that a contractual agreement be in place at the conclusion of the two-plus-four talks, and hopefully by this autumn. This agreement must lead to the CSCE summit, which again should issue clear guidelines "so that we can achieve more clearly defined institutions for European security by 1992." There is consensus with his Soviet counterpart that the goal is that of a pan-European security system.

The important thing now, however, is the shaping of the transitional situation. The commitments of the two German states, which correspond to particular interests in the East and West, must be maintained. "To that extent, I can see the importance perhaps not of dual membership, but at least of the basic idea," Meckel stressed. "We can most readily imagine Germany in a changed NATO." This requires necessary changes in

NATO strategies. "At the same time, we would say that we intend to take account of the Soviet Union's interests." This must take the form of military strategies designed to demilitarize Germany, with clear reductions in both German Armies and those Armies stationed on German soil. This should also be fixed contractually. According to Meckel, it is desirable to ultimately overcome the blocs and their structures and to "transfer" them "into a pan-European structure."

Eppelmann on Unification, Pan-European Process

LD0205174890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1440 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The unification of the two German states must be achieved in harmony with the pan-European process. This view was put forward by Defense and Disarmament Minister Rainer Eppelmann today [2 May] at a commanders' meeting of the National People's Army [NVA] in Strausberg. "The legitimate security interests of all involved states, in particular the USSR, must not be compromised by the German unification process. At the end of that process, more security must exist for everyone and greater stability must exist in Europe than at present. This is the basis on which our government is guided in all aspects of its security and military policy. However, we do not want the alliance policy to become an obstacle to unification. For that reason dialogue with all allies is so important."

Minister Eppelmann spoke in favor of the transformation of the Warsaw Pact from a military-political alliance into a mainly political one. The GDR will gradually reduce its military commitments and intensify political cooperation. The GDR's security policy must remain peace-promoting and predictable.

Disarmament and military confidence-building, said Eppelmann, must continue to have priority. Nevertheless, the GDR will, as long as it continues to exist as a state, maintain the NVA at the appropriate level and structured in a strongly defensive way in the interests of its external security. After the unification of the two states, "there could be a second German Army on GDR territory which, not integrated in any military alliance, will exercise its own, territorial safeguarding functions."

Eppelmann opposed any extension of NATO's military presence in the region between the Oder and Elbe. The GDR is not in favor of any shifting of the alliance, but supports overcoming the alliances on both sides. A supra-alliance European security system must be developed in which the two German states and their Armies should assume a bridging function between the military pact systems.

A great opportunity exists to significantly reduce the arms mountains stockpiled in the two military alliances and to shape the Armed Forces in an exclusively defensive manner. The minister announced that the GDR will introduce specific steps for the restructuring of its Armed Forces over the next few days. Special attention should be paid to personnel disarmament, which he described as "the most important and at the same time most difficult part of the conversion." The "freeing of peoples from unnecessary arms burdens and the danger of military force" must not be turned into the opposite for the military and civilian staff affected, making them fearful of the future and their social insecurity.

New Forum Officials Demand Stasi Files Access

LD0205150290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1334 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The New Forum Council spokespersons today demanded access in Berlin to Stasi films which may exist on them. Twelve of the 15 members of the regional Council of Spokespersons marched to the prosecutor-general's office this morning and delivered a letter to this affect. It emphatically demands that they be investigated in connection with a possible involvement with the former State Security Ministry/National Security Office. Members of the council had already made this request at the beginning of April.

Reinhold Mau of the Council of Spokespersons told ADN after the action that all those with political responsibility in the country should follow this voluntary step by the members of the New Forum in order to leave no room for future defamation and possible blackmail. It had become clear in the talks with the prosecutor-general, however, that there was as yet no legal basis for such an investigation. The New Forum, according to Reinhold Mau, now hopes to take further steps in this direction, since in the view of the citizens movement, involvement in the former State Security Ministry/National Security Office and holding a mandate were mutually exclusive.

Interior Ministry Gains Control of Border Troops

LD0205171190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1619 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR border troops and civilian protection will in the future be answerable to the Interior Ministry. This was agreed today by Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann and Internal Affairs Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel. A news statement by the Defense and Disarmament Ministry says that a relevant strategy is to be drafted by mid-May. It further states that relevant legal stipulations on the GDR's future protection order is to be submitted in a short while to the People's Chamber for adoption and the necessary followup stipulations are to be decreed. The two ministries believe that the introduced measures will take into account the changed situation on the state border.

De Maiziere Visits Bitterfeld To Assess Pollution

LD0205151190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1409 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Bitterfeld (ADN)—Premier Lothar de Maiziere is on a fact-finding visit to Bitterfeld this afternoon. This was in response to demands from the inhabitants of the area to the government that it devote particular attention to the disastrous environmental conditions there. Bitterfeld, where 21,000 people live, is considered to be the dirtiest and most polluted city in Europe. One child in two suffers from respiratory illnesses. The main causes of this are the Bitterfeld pharmaceutical combine and the lignite industry. After a visit to the town hall and a short walk through the town center, the premier was informed in the Bitterfeld pharmaceutical combine of the present situation and of efforts for reducing environmental damage, such as sewage purification.

Church Official Stolpe on Local Elections

AU0305113490 Hamburg BILD in German 3 May 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Manfred Stolpe, consistory president of the Berlin-Brandenburg Evangelical Church, by BILD editors Lothar Schindlbeck, Peter Bartels, Peter Brinkmann, and Hans-Hermann Tiedje; place and date not given: "De Maiziere Has Won Some Scores"]

[Text] [BILD] What will be the outcome of the elections next Sunday [6 May]?

[Stolpe] The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] will more or less continue on the same level. Confidence in Kohl has not been shaken, and Lothar de Maiziere has won some points. The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] will get more votes, while the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] will lose votes, and the Alliance 90 will win votes.

[BILD] Why will the PDS get more votes?

[Stolpe] The PDS is toying with the people's emotions. It is telling fearful swimmers that it would be better for them to exercise near the shores for a very long time, instead of immediately jumping into the water. But that is not the way to learn to swim.

Our people are still very much afraid of the cold water, the future, in other words. But that is entirely wrong.

[BILD] Why are GDR citizens concerned?

[Stolpe] They are concerned about their jobs, for instance. When they come back from their summer vacation and have spent their first German mark, they will be concerned about the alleged specter of unemployment. I do not even rule out social unrest. In this respect, the government must start a professional information campaign very soon to put an end to this foolishness. There is enough work to do. We can still produce a lot for East Europe.

[BILD] For instance?

[Stolpe] Our cars, which nobody here wants to buy anymore, are still very much in demand in all of East Europe. This holds true for our wheat, textiles, and electrical appliances also. We should fill the empty shelves in East Europe with GDR products as soon as possible. That would help our economy, and it would also relieve the Soviets of their concerns about losing the war once more as a result of German unity.

[BILD] Is the new government delaying the unification process?

[Stolpe] There is certainly a tendency toward delaying things. Now unrest is spreading. People are asking themselves why it all takes so long. My impression is that the new ministers are getting drowned in their everyday work and can't see the wood for the trees; in other words, they only make the necessary decisions hesitantly.

[BILD] In that case, a rapid unification process would be the best thing, would it not?

[Stolpe] Right. The process leading to unity under Article 23 should have been started long ago.

More Graves Discovered Near Fuenfeichen

AU0205124590 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 26 Apr 90 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "More Graves Discovered Near Fuenfeichen"]

[Excerpts] Neubrandenburg (ADN/BZ)—Employees of the Neubrandenburg Museum discovered a second burial ground during excavations near the former Soviet internment camp on Tuesday and yesterday [24, 25 April]. It is approximately 1 km north of the mass graves discovered in mid-March. Three graves were opened. [passage omitted]

As historian Peter Mauch reported, the extension of the burial ground will be surveyed in the next few days. According to present findings, it is estimated to measure 80 by 40 meters and to contain approximately 200 graves. [passage omitted]

Diestel Plans Cooperation With Bavarian Police

AU0205134190 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 26 Apr 90 p 2

[Klaus Bruske report: "Together on the Beat?"]

[Text] Berlin—Close cooperation and an exchange of experiences between the police of the GDR's southern bezirks and the internal security forces of the Free State of Bavaria is planned for the future. This was agreed by GDR Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel and Dr. Edmund Stoiber, Bavarian Interior Affairs state minister, during an intensive exchange of opinions in East Berlin yesterday. As far as possible, the GDR wants to adapt to the conditions of an open society with the

help of these contacts, which are to be extended very soon to other FRG laender interior ministers, who, as is known, are the supreme police authority. According to the experiences of Minister Stoiber, this includes in particular drug criminality and serious offenses, as the international criminal scene is expected to include the GDR very soon in its operations.

In addition to an advisory body of Bavarian experts in the GDR Interior Ministry, various advanced training seminars with different contents and durations are planned for the people's policemen.

Their inclusion in practical, everyday work, for example in Munich, is also planned. According to an internal FRG comparison, Bavaria has a very high security standard. Among other things, the crime rate is considerably lower there than in the other laender.

Agricultural Workers Demand Import Restrictions

AU0205134790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Apr 90 p 1

[ND-Fischer report: "Agricultural Workers in Front of Parliament: We Are Not Servants"]

[Text] Berlin (ND-Fischer)—Another People's Chamber session—another peasants' demonstration. On behalf of the 600,000 members of the Agricultural Trade Union, workers, foresters and agricultural technicians protested against being turned into a fringe group in the Lustgarten. "We are agricultural workers, Mr. Minister! Not servants!" it was stated. Trade Union Chairwoman Marianne Sandig called on the government to stop uncontrolled food imports. Moreover, she called for the immediate resumption of the tariff negotiations aiming at a 30-percent wage increase. In her opinion, the finances of the trade union consisting of members' contributions also must be converted at a 1:1 exchange rate.

In a break in the parliamentary proceedings, Dr. Peter Pollack, minister of food, agriculture, and forestry, received a trade union delegation. It conveyed a letter to the president of the People's Chamber, which emphatically called for secure jobs. Members of the parliamentary group of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] assured the demonstrators that they support their demands. The PDS had presented a motion to the People's Chamber Presidium, which, among other things, temporarily prohibits the local state organs from authorizing food imports.

Diestel: West Berliners May Use FRG Passports

AU0205123490 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 28 Apr 90 p 1

[NZ/ADN report: Easing of Travel Restrictions for West Berliners"]

[Text] By the beginning of the summer vacation at the latest, West Berlin citizens should be able to freely travel to the GDR and East Berlin with an FRG passport. This was announced by Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel (German Social Union) at an international news conference in Berlin on Friday [27 April]. West Berliners have so far only been entitled to cross the inner- German border with an identity card.

Diestel and Erich Paetzold, interior senator of West Berlin, briefed journalists from East and West on their first meeting since the GDR official took office. They stated that the police units in East and West Berlin have made preparations against possible outrages by extremist forces during the May Day celebrations.

Dirk Bachmann, president of the Berlin police, suspects that right-wing extremists might try to storm houses occupied by leftist autonomous groups in Prenzlauer Berg. This action might be intended by neo-Nazis to take revenge for the "defeat" they suffered on 20 April, when they were forced back by strong police units in Alexanderplatz.

Nemeth Addresses National Assembly on Resignation

LD0205145390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1234 GMT 2 May 90

[Speech by Premier Miklos Nemeth at the constituent session of the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, esteemed assembly, ladies and gentlemen! About 16 months ago in this chamber, but from different National Assembly, I received the task and the mandate to lead the government in a process which with every certainty counts as a rarity in history. By now it is commonplace to refer to this process as a peaceful transition. We have almost worn out this concept, while it is incredible that it did not remain an abstract concept but, before our very eyes, turned into reality.

There were many who did not predict any chances for this path and there are still those today who do not believe in it. The government that I led, and I personally as well, believed that this could be realized. For this reason, we labored to turn this chance into reality. We undertook to be the government of this transition, not for one moment thinking that our role, but mainly our responsibility, was temporary.

I consider it the fruit of our work—and this does not leave a bitter taste in my mouth—that today before you I can submit my government's resignation. This was the first government for many decades which was truly responsible directly to the National Assembly and not to a party. This is also the first government for many decades that can submit its resignation to a National Assembly that has come into being as the result of a completely free, democratic election.

We are proud that our administration has contributed to the arrival of this moment. In this, the former National Assembly was a good partner of ours, and the parties that now take their place in the new National Assembly were also our partners. We considered them our partners even when many of them, more than once, showed themselves to be fierce opponents, because we knew what our objective was and we knew theirs as well.

We, the government members, knew the role of this government in the peaceful transformation of the system, and with all of our strength, we wanted to be equal, to this role. For this reason, we spent the past nearly 18 months in hard work.

Many people are of the view that we have committed political suicide, because as the fruit of the struggle that we waged for the dismantling of the old power system, we ourselves have, in the end, been squeezed out of executive power. What I say is that all this proves better than anything else that we worked for the system change, not in order to salvage our own power in another form, but so that we might live in a parliamentary democracy.

We won our constitutional revolution by virtue of the fact that not only did the masses not want to live in the old way, but neither did the power want to govern in the old way. We worked selflessly on the changes. This work was known and recognized by international public opinion and the world's politicians as well.

We were the ones who had to make amends to the people for the old crimes; we undertook the task and possibility of rehabilitation, the liberation of the human souls, and we were the ones who had to bear the burdensome legacy of the past, both the political and the social and economic legacy.

The political legacy will not burden the new government. It will, however, have to continue carrying the social and economic legacy. It cannot throw it away, just as we could not do it, and I am afriad that neither can it resolve it from one year to the next, just as we could not undertake this, either.

In any case we can say that, having undertaken even the unpopular measures, we leave behind a country capable of functioning. I hope and I wish that for the tasks to be resolved in the longer term—and only for those—the next government will succeed in obtaining greater patience from society than our government obtained from those who entered the struggle for power. For now it is not just a question of winning an election against others, but of transforming a society, an economy, with the cooperation of many.

We have not yet been able to prepare for the period after the elections, because our energy has been involved in leading the country up to the elections. Both our hands were full of work. For this reason, when we were attacked we had nothing with which to defend ourselves. Now there is a new situation. Our hands are free. Even so now we, each in his own place, will not use them for hitting, for attacking, but for the protection of the people's interests, for a parliamentary struggle waged with clean political means.

I believe that those masses who have silently and attentively followed the struggle we have waged to win our constitutional revolution will value the fact that we have worked not against someone but for someone and for something—for them.

I would also like to give thanks for the support of all those who have understood our endeavours and have helped in their realization. I would like to believe that more and more of the slogans of the political struggle waged for the system change will come true. If we demanded the unity of words and deeds, let us put it into effect. If we blamed the old system, because others made the decisions concerning the people over the people's heads, then let us put it into effect. If we blamed the old system, because others made the decisions concerning the people over the people's heads, then let us not now give way to the temptation that, after the decisions of one party, now the bargain struck by the parties should step into the place of people's decisions.

In the course of history, there constantly lurks the temptation to settle the world's affairs once and for all.

which springs from the firm conviction that the entire earlier history was a mistake. Not many countries have managed to protect themselves against those leaders who never even had a doubt that real history begins with them. Several times already we have not managed to do this.

Now we are starting once again. As one of the formal conditions of the new start, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, I herewith submit my government's resignation. I hope that our new parliament and the government to be formed will be able to work on creating a fervently-desired European Hungary, and that no adverse domestic political struggle will divert their attention from that.

Since a condition of the election of the new government is the simultaneous submission of the government program, I would also like to state on this occasion that the Council of Ministers led by me will give to those elaborating the government program every assistance that they require from the central administrative organs.

I announce that until the new government comes to office, the Council of Ministers will naturally fulfill its constitutional duties, for which I ask the help of the esteemed National Assembly.

Finally, allow me, on behalf of the present government and on my own behalf, to wish much success and good health to every deputy of the new National Assembly. Thank you.

Assembly Proclaims 'Solidarity' With Lithuania

LD0305151990 Budapest Dometic Service in Hungarian 1405 GMT 3 May 90

[Resolution read by Gyula Horn, National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee chairman, at the Hungarian National Assembly founding session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly: The Foreign Affairs Committee has fulfilled the task requested of it by the party leaders, and after a lengthy debate it has formulated the draft stance that is now before you. It is characteristic of the debate, because of the importance of the subject, that we voted almost sentence by sentence. Permit me to read the proposal of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

The position of the National Assembly of the Hungarian Republic:

The National Assembly of the Hungarian Republic, with grave anxiety, is carefully following the serious situation which has developed concerning Lithuania. It considers the use of coercive tools and all steps that impede the assertion of the right of self-determination by the Lithuanian people as unacceptable. The National Assembly hereby expresses its solidarity with the Lithuanian people and their endeavors for self-determination. It considers it necessary that the leaders of the Soviet Union start talks of merit with the lawful representatives of the Lithuanian people about the formation of a solution which equally ensures the assertion of the Lithuanian people's right of self-determination and the preservation of the Soviet Union's political stability and international security. Budapest, 3 May 1990.

Permit me just to add an observation on the above—that is, to the proposed text. First, according to our evaluation, this draft position expresses the solidarity of the Hungarian people and the parliament with the Lithuanian people's endeavors for self- determination. It takes a stand alongside a resolution through negotiations, moreover in such a way—and it considers those means important—which is generally accepted in international life. In my judgment, this draft position simultaneously reflects the assertion of those interests connected to the maintenance and preservation of Hungarian-Soviet good-neighborly relations. Finally, the maintenance of the Soviet Union's political stability and its preservation, is, in our opinion, a significant, inseparable part of international security. The position of the Foreign Affairs Committee took all these aspects into consideration. Thank you.

[At 1430 GMT, National Assembly Speaker Gyorgy Szabad says: "The submission of the Foreign Affairs Committee has been accepted by the Hungarian National Assembly, with 198 votes in favor—that is, by 55 percent; 149 against—that is, 41 percent; 15 abstentions. Thank you. We have concluded debate on the matter."]

FIDESz Protests at U.S. Embassy

LD0205205290 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Now a report about a demonstration organized by the second district group of FIDESz [Alliance of Young Democrats] this afternoon [2 May] in front of two embassies in Budapest.

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] It was mainly young people who protested in front of the U.S. Embassy. This is how they wished to express their solidarity with Lithuania and they also decided to start a collection. At the request of the Lithuanian parliament, they are going to organize three truckloads of aid, which will contain medicines, basic food products, and spare parts for Ikarusz buses. According to the plans the demonstration was planned for last week but, as the organizers said, the date slipped over to today. Thus the coincidence with the parliament session is purely accidental. The demonstration continued in front of the Soviet Embassy, and a petition was handed over to the ambassadors at both embassies. [end recording]

National Assembly's Founding Session Summary

LD0205112290

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0800 GMT on 2 May begins carrying a live

relay of the Hungarian National Assembly founding session in Budapest. Interim President Matyas Szuros opens the festive, constituent session of the National Assembly. He calls on those present to sing the Hungarian national anthem. Szuros begins speaking on the Hungarian people's transfer to democracy. Szuros concludes with thanks for being charged with his assignment as National Assembly speaker and interim president of the Republic.

Bela Varga then begins his festive address. He thanks the Hungarian people for preserving its respect for him over the 48 years he spent abroad. He recalls events of 43 years ago, but says he would rather speak about the future. He says a new chapter in the history of liberated Hungary is now beginning. It is necessary, now, for Hungarian unity not to be superficial. Varga recalls historical tragedies befalling Hungary caused by a lack of unity. Let us not squander Hungary's prestige in the world, which it gained in 1956 and afterward. Only we are, and will be, responsible for our mistakes.

Varga says: Let the unfolding democracy not be overshadowed by party squabbles. Let Hungary's fame be upheld throughout the world, in its humanity, as well. Let us forgive the sins of others; this is the task of this small country. Let us not ask who is Magyar and who is not, but let us rather look at who has done what. Let us think that what is happening now in the hall is not only the end of a 1,000 year period for Hungary, but the beginning of the coming 1,000 years. In 1947, when I left the country, the cloud of oppression covered Hungary. In 1946-47, I was National Assembly speaker. It was in this spirit that I spent my time abroad. Now, I have returned, and I hand sovereignty back to the Hungarian parliament. God bless Hungary, God bless parliament, together with its deputies.

Voros assesses the significance of today. He recalls the preparation of the Hungarian provisional National Assembly in December 1944. He then gives a historical overview of the national assembly's work in 1944, and how efforts toward a free Hungary were halted.

Szuros says that until the new National Assembly officials are elected, work will be chaired by the speaker on the basis of seniority. Accordingly, he asks Kalman Keri to take over the chairmanship, while the four youngest deputies will be the minute-takers. He hands the floor over the Kalman Keri.

Keri then takes over the chairmanship of proceedings. He gives an overview of milestones in Hungarian history. Keri says that Hungary is in an extremely critical situation regarding the economy and population figures. Hungary has debts, and these must be repaid; however, they can be repaid only out of what has been produced, so it is necessary to learn how to work. Agreement is necessary for work to proceed; let us abandon discrimination on the basis of religion, class, descent, and other differences. He says it is also necessary for us to live with our neighbors in the Carpathian basin. Keri would like to believe that Hungary will proceed on the path of reconciliation, but not to the detriment of the Magyars who live outside of Hungary's borders. It is necessary to learn how to be Magyar again. We can be proud of being Magyar, he says. We have lived here for 1,000 years, and this people has endured much destruction. In order for the leadership to govern the people, unity is necessary. The outgoing government can leave with heads held high, and be proud of what it has fulfilled, Keri concludes. Keri announces the beginning of work. He proposes the agenda for the founding session of the National Assembly:

1. Report of the National Electoral Committee on the election of deputies, including the report from the commissioned leader of the Interior Ministry on the implementation of state tasks connected with organizing and holding the election of deputies.
2. The inspection of mandates.
3. Registration of the parties' deputy groups, their leaders, and the persons commissioned by the independent deputies.
4. Election of National Assembly officials.
5. Appointment of the acting chairman of the National Assembly.
6. Announcement of the resignation of the Council of Ministers.
7. Debate on the draft law on the significance of the 1956 October revolution and freedom fight.
8. Draft statement on the intention to join the European parliament.
9. Announcer on the commission to form a government.
10. Debate on the National Assembly draft resolution on the formation of the standing and special committees of the National Assembly.
11. Debate on the National Assembly draft resolution on the temporary regulation of deputies' fees and renumeration of expenses. Keri asks that the agenda be approved by acclamation. The assembly does so.

Keri says the first agenda item is a report by the election organs on the election results. A written report has been distributed to the deputies. At 0911 GMT a verbal supplement is presented by Janos Nemeth, chairman of the national election committee.

Nemeth says the written report does not contain the final results, since two appeals concerning the results were in progress when the report was prepared nine days ago. Since then, the appeal has been settled concerning the results of the election in County Heves's No. 1 constituency, where the Hungarian Democratic Forum candidate will receive the mandate of the individual constituency, thereby enabling a candidate on the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] national list to receive his mandate. The appeal in Budapest's No. 11 individual constituency has not yet been settled. Therefore, the final results will be published next week in MAGYAR KOZLONY.

Keri states that Alliance of Free Democrats candidate Miklos Haraszti, concerned in the appeal over results in

the Budapest constituency, will at any event be a National Assembly deputy, either on the regional list or from an individual constituency. Keri then asks the relevant mandate-examining commission to examine the mandates of newly elected Assembly deputies. He calls a 60-minute recess.

Upon the resumption of the session, Keri says the Assembly's mandate-examining commission has finished its work. Bertalan Andrasfalvy confirms that the mandates have been examined and are in order. Keri asks a clerk to read out the names of those holding mandates which have been examined and are in order.

The reading of the list then concludes. Voting on the mandates: they are accepted with 349 votes in favor. Thee deputies of the new National Assembly next take their oath. The next subject is the report on the general elections. A vote is taken on the report from the commissioned leader of the Interior Ministry, Zoltan Gal. This is a written document handed out to the deputies, with no verbal supplement. Three hundred and thirty-two are in favor, one against, seven abstentions.

A vote is then taken on the report from the National Electoral Committee. Again, this was distributed in writing. The result of the vote: 335 in favor, 3 against, and 17 abstentions. Keri announces that the parliamentary parties have formed their groups and reads out the names of the leaders:

Hungarian Democratic Forum: Dr. Jozsef Antall.
Alliance of Free Democrats: Dr. Peter Tolgyessy.
Independent Smallholders Party: Dr. Jozsef Torgbyan.
Hungarian Socialist Party: Imre POzsgay.
Federation of Young Democrats: Dr. Viktor Orban.
Christian Democratic People's Party: Dr. Tibor Fuzessy.
Independent deputies' representative: Dr. Istvan Fodor.

The session moves on to the appointment of the speaker, deputy speakers, and clerks. The number of the last two is to be decided by the National Assembly. On the basis of the agreement between the faction leaders and the representative of the independent deputies, Keri proposes three deputy speakers and eight clerks. A vote is taken on these numbers, and they are approved.

Keri then outlines the procedure agreed by the faction leaders and the representative of the independent deputies on nominations for the posts. According to the agreement, the largest party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), will nominate the speaker, who will be interim president of the Republic. The deputy speakers will be nominated by order of party strength in the parliament, thus by the Alliance of Free Democrats (SzDSz), Independent Smallholders Party (FKGP), and the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP). Parties can make agreements among themselves which differ from the above; thus the MDF and the SzDSz have agreed that the speaker will be nominated by the SzDSz, and one of the deputy speakers, who will be acting speaker by the MDF. For clerks, the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) and the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP) will nominate two each; the other parties will nominate one each.

Keri then outlines the list of candidates for speaker: Arpad Goncz, SzDSz. For deputy speakers: Dr. Gyorgy Szabad, MDF; Vince Voros, FKGP; and Dr. Matyas Szuros, HSP. For clerks: Dr. Istvan Balas, MDF; Maria Korodi, SzDSz; Balazs Bardos, FKGP; Katalin Bossanyi, HSP; Bela Glattfelder, FIDESZ; Zoltan Trombitas, FIDESz; Gabor Balogh, KDNP; Sandor Toth, KDNP.

Only the faction leaders and the representative of independent deputies can nominate; thus, the list of nominations is closed. The election takes place by secret ballot. Keri outlines the vote procedure, which is a written ballot, papers to be put in a ballot box in the corridor.

Keri declares a recess for the vote to take place. The session then resumes. Keri says the returning committee has concluded its work. He reads out the results. Votes for the speaker of the National Assembly: the total number of votes is 379. Of these, 370 were valid, so nine were invalid; 339 votes were cast for the candidate, fellow-deputy Arpad Goncz. Arpad Goncz is the National Assembly's elected speaker.

The total number of votes for the National Assembly's deputy speakers again was 379. Of these, 370 were valid, and nine were invalid. Dr. Gyorgy Szabad recieved 348 votes; 22 voted against him. Vince Voros got 358 votes; 12 voted against him. Dr. Matyas Szuros got 353 votes. On this basis, the National Assembly's deputy speakers are Dr. Gyorgy Szabad, Vince Voros and Dr. Matyas Szuros.

Keri says votes cast for National Assembly clerks again numbered 379, of which 370 were valid and nine were invalid; 365 voted for Dr. Istvan Balas (MDF); there were five votes against. Maria Korodi (SzDSz): 368 for, two against. Balazs Bardos (FKGP): 370 for, Katalin Bossanyi (HSP): 362 for, eight against. Bela Glattfelder (FIDESZ): 368 for, two against. Zoltan Trombitas (FIDESZ): 367 for, three against. Gabor Balogh (KDNP): 368 for, two against. Sandor Toth (KDNP): 370 for, no one against. On this basis, the National Assembly clerks are: Dr. Istvan Balas, Maria Korodi, Balazs Bardos, Bela Glattfelder, Zoltan Trombitas, Gabor Balogh, Sandor Toth, and Katalin Bossanyi.

Goncz takes the floor, expressiong thanks for the confidence shown in him. He says he will do everything to retain this confidence.

Goncz then proposes Gyorgy Szabad to be acting speaker of the National Assembly, while he as speaker takes over the functions of interim president of the Republic. A vote is taken. Szabad is approved with 356 votes. Goncz congratulates Szabad and hands over position as speaker to him.

Szabad greets fellow deputies, those citizens watching and listening at home; expresses thanks for confidence shown in him; he did not search for this task but undertakes it and hopes people's confidence will help him to be a good tool for the sovereignty of the people to be asserted. Miklos Nemeth rises to speak, to announce the resignation of the Council of Ministers.

Szabad expresses thanks on behalf of everyone to the outgoing government, Miklo Nemeth personally, and also thanks the outgoing interim president of the Republic. He says no assembly resolution need be taken on the resignation of the Council of Ministers. This is merely acknowledged. The old Council of Ministers will remain in office until the new one is formed and takes office. Szabad says the next topic is the debate on the draft law relating to the 1956 October revolution. Written material has been prepared. Clerk Bela Glattfelder reads out the proposal, which is to codify the significance of the 1956 October revolution in Hungary. According to the proposal, 23 October will be a national holiday. Szabad adds a few sentences to the above, saying how important the link to 1956 is, for it is a link with the historic past and the most secure basis on which the new Hungary is to be created. Deeds are needed as well as words, to continue the spirit of 1956, which is a date as important for Hungary as 1848-49 is. Everybody should be able to live freely in Hungary, whatever their religion or nationality, and no one should be subject to arbitrary rule or tyranny. A vote is then taken: The proposal is approved—366 in favor and two abstentions.

Szabad announces that Anders Bjorck of the Council of Europe has sent a message to the Hungarian National Assembly, congratulating the country on having a democratically elected parliament. The message expresses support, and wishes success for the legislature. Szabad then expresses thanks to Bjorck. Discussions have already started for Hungary to join the Council of Europe, and at this founding session the Assembly is to make a statement of intent confirming this. This has been distributed in writing, but it is also read out. A vote is taken on the draft statement of intent; 374 votes in favor. That is unanimous.

Szabad then proposes to send a telegram of good wishes to Transylvanian author Andras Suto who was to have been the guest of the MDF at the first session, but is still recovering from his injuries abroad. The house approves this proposal.

Szabad closes the session. Work will resume at 0700 GMT 3 May.

MDF, SzDSz Discuss Constitutional Issues

LD0205124590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] [Announcer] And now we go over again to parliament, where Gabor Bankuti reports on the joint news conference of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] and the SzDSz [Alliance of Free Democrats].

[Bankuti] The news conference is still in progress. MDF head Jozsef Antall said that the MDF, which has obtained the most mandates, still wishes to form a government coalition with the FKGP [Smallholders' Party] and the KDNP [Christian Democratic People's Party], and that it will also hold discussions with FIDESz [Federation of Young Democrats].

At the same time both parties, the MDF and the SzDSz, have recognised that there is a need to join forces in laying the foundations of the Hungarian parliament and settling the present situation. On too many issues the present constitution requires a two thirds majority; it is not possible to govern effectively in a parliamentary democracy in this way. This understanding shows what cooperation between a responsible government party and a responsible opposition can be like.

The MDF supports the proposal that Arpad Goncz be the first president of parliament. This support is intended for him personally. Arpad Goencz took part in the resistance movement on the side of Endre Bajcsi-Zsilinszky. Then he was Bela Kovacs' secretary, and general secretary of the Independent Smallholders' Party. Later, he was an associate of Istvan Bibo's and the number two defendent in his trial, when he was sentenced to life imprisonment. Similarly, it was agreed that Gyoergy Szabad should be the first vice president. Thus, Arpad Goencz will hold the function of interim president of the Republic, and Gyoergy Szabad the function of interim president of the National Assembly.

The agreement also states that they will jointly propose the amendment of the constitution in connection with governmental work. This would make a simple majority sufficient for government work. In the future, a two-thirds majority will only be important in matters of basic laws which change the system.

They also propose that the president of the Republic be elected by the National Assembly, as originally laid down in the constitution. This does not preclude the possibility, said Jozsef Antall, that in due course the definitive constitution will prescribe direct presidential elections. They support such a constitutional amendment; then Arpad Goncz should be head of state and Gyoergy Szabad the definitive president of the National Assembly.

Peter Toelgyessy, leader of the Free Democrats' faction, mentioned three reasons why they supported this agreement: One is the country's governable nature; the second, that there should be a president who can express the will of the nation as a whole; and the third, that the present constitution has numerous faults and is the result of compromises.

As one of the faults, he mentioned that the nationality deputies get into parliament by invitation. The view instead is that the nationalities should have an official spokesman who would be able at any time to speak in

parliament and undertake proceedings with the authorities. Parliament should have a minorities committee. At the next elections the nationalities should also have an elected representative.

According to the agreement, future leaders of television, radio, and MTI should be proposed by the premier. The candidates would then be heard by a parliamentary committee where the elected staff members of the institutions and the delegates of the professional organizations would also take part, and in the last resort the heads of the institutions—that is to say radio, television, and MTI—would be appointed by the president of the Republic. The news briefing is still in progress.

I would just add that at the session of the parliamentary faction for the Independent Smallholders Party, which ended a few minutes ago, the party's representatives accepted the agreement of the MDF and the SzDSz, adding that henceforth the Smallholders' Party, as a government coalition member, wishes to take part in discussions like these. Now back to the studio.

National Assembly Approves Law on 1956

LD0205170190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1244 GMT 2 May 90

["Remarks" by National Assembly acting Speaker Gorgy Szabad and National Assembly Clerk Bela Glattfelder at the National Assembly founding session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Szabad] As our next agenda point, let us turn to the bill that codifies the significance of the 1956 October Revolution and the freedom struggle. A written submittal has been prepared following the initiative of the Committee for Historical Justice and the Reosk [prison camp] Association proposed to the National Assembly, and after which the representatives of the parties and the independent deputies worked out a proposal. I ask Clerk Bela Glattfelder to read the text of this proposal.

[Glattfelder] Law on the codification of the significance of the 1956 October Revolution and freedom struggle.

The freely elected new National Assembly considers it to be its pressing task to encompass in law the historical significance of the 1956 October Revolution and freedom struggle. This glorious event of modern Hungarian history can only be compared to the 1848-49 revolution and freedom struggle. The Hungarian revolution of fall 1956 laid the basis for the hope that a democratic social order could be created and that no sacrifice for the independence of the homeland is in vain. Although the reprisal following the revolution put back the old power, it was not capable of eliminating the spirit of 1956 from people's souls.

The new National Assembly considers it to be its duty to keep alive and nurture the memory of the revolution and freedom struggle. The new National Assembly declares that in accordance with the spirit of 1956, it will do everything necessary to defend multiparty democracy, human rights, and the independence of the nation. Thus, at its first session, first of all, it is creating the following law:

First paragraph: The National Assembly perpetuates the memory of the 1956 revolution and freedom struggle in law.

Second paragraph: 23 October, the start of the 1956 revolution and freedom struggle, and also the day of the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic, in 1989, is declared a national holiday. [applause]

[Szabad] [passage omitted] Now let us make a decision. Let us vote. I announce that the Hungarian National Assembly has approved the bill relating to the perpetuation of the memory of 1956, and 23 October being declared a national holiday, with 366 votes in favor and two abstentions.

Assembly Hopes To Join Council of Europe

LD0205150590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1259 GMT 2 May 90

["Remarks" by National Assembly acting Speaker Gyorgy Szabad and National Assembly Clerk Gabor Balogh at the National Assembly founding session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Szabad] It is known that already during the lifespan of the past parliament, talks began on the National Assembly becoming a full member of the Council of Europe and its parliamentary assembly. I believe that the newly formed National Assembly can best express the continuation of this endeavor if, at this constituent session, it issues a statement of intent.

To my knowledge, my fellow deputies have received this draft statement. Nonetheless, in the interest of openness, I consider it necessary to outline this. Therefore, I ask fellow Deputy Gabor Balogh to read the statement.

[Balogh] Statement: The Hungarian Republic's National Assembly that was freely and democratically elected on 25 March and 8 April 1990, and all the political parties represented in the National Assembly ceremonially express their resolve to guarantee constitutionally the realization of the ideals and objectives laid down in the Council of Europe charter, as well to respect the European convention on the protection of human rights and basic freedom rights, which was signed in Rome on 4 November 1950. The National Assembly expresses its appreciation and gratitude to the ministerial committee of the Council of Europe and its parliamentary assembly for its exemplary, generous decisions, enabling six members of the National Assembly, since June 1989, to be able to take part as special guests in the assembly's work, and other official representatives of our country to be able to take part in the activity of various forums in the Council of Europe.

The National Assembly voices its hope that Hungary soon can become a full member of the Council of Europe. Dated: Budapest, 2 May 1990.

[Szabad] Thank you. [passage omitted] Now comes the making of a decision; let us vote. [passage omitted] It can be read from the display that 374 deputies, that is 100 percent, voted in favor. [passage omitted] I proclaim the decisions: The Hungarian National Assembly's House of Representatives, with 374 votes, that is 100 percent in favor, has adopted the draft statement.

Parties Comment on Political Alignment

LD0205165890 Budapest MTI in English 1543 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 2 (MTI)—Asked about the agreement concluded by the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) and the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD), the leaders of the parliamentary groups of the Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP), the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) and the Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP) had the following to say to an MTI staff member:

Jozsef Torgyan (ISP):

The Smallholders agree with the election of Arpad Goncz and Gyorgby Szabad, all the more so since the former filled a senior post in the party in the 1940s. However, the method of the HDF-AFD agreement is unacceptable since there are six, rather than two, parliamentary parties and the ISP is a possible coalition partner of the Democratic Forum. As far as the agreement on the proposed amendments to the constitution is concerned, I have strong reservations. The ISP has to work out its detailed position on the issue since the amendments may fundamentally change the future of the country.

Imre Pozsgay (ISP):

Since the agreement complies with the parliamentary rules, the HDF and the AFD had an obvious right to conclude it. The Socialist Party shares the desire that the country should be governable so it accepts the principle that the laws required for government should be approved by an appropriate majority. It is also obvious in a democratic parliament that the form of government is democratic so that the MPS can exercise effective control over the government's work.

Viktor Orban (FYD):

Since the agreement is very long and concerns a number of issues, it requires careful study. Although the FYD agrees with the main lines, it has some reservations which it will put forward in the experts' discussions. If the opposition takes it seriously that the government should be given the opportunity to put the economy back on its feet, the number of laws requiring a two-third majority should be reduced. The Young Democrats, however, disagree with the idea that the authority of the president of the republic would be extended under the agreement. They insist that the president's authority should rather be narrowed.

Tibor Fuzessy (CDPP):

Some details of the agreement require careful study. Concerning the agreement that the president of the republic should be elected by parliament rather than the people, the CDPP has some reservations. The Christian Democrats start from their historical traditions, namely that they have always advocated the direct form of presidential elections, which was also declared by law no. i/1946. In the opposition roundtable and the trilateral talks, the CDPP adopted the position that the president with strong or medium powers should be elected by the people.

Acting Speaker, President Outline Tasks

LD0205171290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] The parliamentary activity of the Hungarian National Assembly's new acting speaker, Gyorgy Szabad, will be guided by promoting the assertion of the people's will. In his statement, the historian and professor said that he will endeavor to do his work not as a party member, but as an official who has been elected by and is answerable to the National Assembly. Gyorgy Szabad emphasized that as the National Assembly's speaker, he would like to ensure the free expression of opinions by his fellow deputies, regardless of their party affiliation.

Our country's new interim head of state, Arpad Goncz, said he would be pleased if he could meet with Mikhail Gorbachev, or any other leader of the Soviet Union, although he has not yet received an invitation. The writer and politician told MTI that his program in the coming weeks will be primarily of a protocol character. He will receive the [words indistinct] and his wife, and then U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar.

Antall Commissioned To Form Government

LD0305082490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0714 GMT 3 May 90

[Statement by interim President Arpad Goencz at the National Assembly founding session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpt] Esteemed house! Following the resignation of the Council of Ministers on 2 May, in accordance with Section Three of Paragraph 33, as a preparation for negotiations for forming the government, I held talks with the leaders of the deputy groups of the parliamentary parties and also with representatives of deputies outside the parties. In the knowledge of their opinion, I announce to the esteemed National Assembly that taking into consideration the democratic parliamentarian traditions, I charge Dr. Jozsef Antall, Hungarian Democratic Forum chairman and leader of its parliamentary

group, with forming a government. [applause] I request him, after the necessary negotiations, to introduce his government and its program to the parliament as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

Antall Speaks on Government Formation

LD0305092490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0717 GMT 3 May 90

[Speech by Hungarian Democratic Forum President Jozsef Antall at the Hungarian National Assembly founding session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, esteemed house. The weight of the responsibility being laid on me surely exceeds all the encouraging words from Arpad Goencz, interim president of the republic. All the same, my thought when I undertook this commission was that I was undertaking an endeavor to form a government. I would like us to start a right of custom, a practice, in this new era of Hungarian constitutionality whereby the leader of the largest political party can first undertake the endeavor to form a government.

I would like to believe that with your help, and with the support of the Hungarian people, we will manage to form the first government that is accountable to the freely elected Hungarian National Assembly. I would like you to believe and know that I am not governed by any kind of personal ambition in this question; no kind of career desire. I think that my age, with the collection of experiences, has prepared me for one or two tasks, but for me, this cannot mean a long period. Just for this reason, I am undertaking to attempt to lead the country, the nation, out of this difficult situation, from this situation on the verge of the crisis in which the country is, or at least to direct it onto the right path. And of all that the Hungarian people have achieved in the past centuries, in the past decades, with suffering and work, with faith, strength and will, we will preserve what is of value, and we will attain what is possible in the future.

I think that whatever we do, the first thing must be to ask for confidence. I am not now asking for confidence in a government, from the point of view of constitutional law, for I could not do so either, but I ask for your and the Hungarian people's confidence so that we can take the first steps in the interests of making use of this historical chance. Hungary has had many opportunities on many occasions. It seemed on many occasions that we had the possibility to create a better, freer, more independent Hungary. I think that we have arrived at the historical hour when we can endeavor to take our fate into our own hands.

But, we cannot harbor illusions. However favorable the international situation, if we compare it either with the period following World War II, or with the international environment of 1956, we still cannot say that everything has been resolved around us and that we are undertaking this step amid cloudless foreign political circumstances. Amid difficult international circumstances, true, with numerous supporters behind us, but it is only by our own resolution, and our own talent and will that we can achieve our aim. We must be aware that there are other forces too; we must be aware that not everyone wishes us success, neither outside the homeland's borders nor within the homeland's borders. Just for this reason, those who really want a democratic Hungary that is independent and based on a multiparty system, we must advance together, competing with each other in politics but cooperating in the fundamental questions such as government and opposition. If we cannot show to the world that Hungary is being directed by responsible policies, from the side of the government and from the side of the opposition, if we cannot show that amid the foreign political and internal political conditions, we ourselves are doing everything for Hungary to be politically stable and economically on the ascendant, then the dangers can be enormous.

We must also gain and retain the confidence of the international financial world. We cannot have illusions in this area. We can only advance if, enjoying the confidence of the international financial world, there are investments in Hungary, and we can mobilize the economic and political strength of the Hungarian people so that they look into the future with confidence.

I am asking for confidence now for this endeavor. I ask for confidence so that we can form Hungary's first coalition government following the elections, and this first coalition government should signify the collaboration of those political forces that have already cooperated within the framework of the electoral alliance. And, we would like it if, despite the existing differences in political opinions and programs, the possibility of parliamentary cooperation with the opposition did exist, and with the various parties of the opposition.

The Hungarian National Assembly should be the common home of Hungarian political life, where government parties and opposition, in political contact with each other, in decent, human contact with each other as private individuals respect each other without suspicion. Now with the common authority given by the Hungarian people, whatever political party somebody belongs to in the parliament, or as an independent deputy, one community should be made. For, we can stand opposing each other, but in one question, in that we all are believers in parliamentarianism and the political multiparty system, we must be one, for we can have no doubt—I trust that this will never come about again—but if here, once again—and I say this only in theory—there were to be a one-party dictatorship, not many people from this National Assembly would remain at large. This knowledge should hold us together. [loud applause]

This knowledge should keep us together, no matter which side we have come from because this is what can join us all and what is our shared inheritance, and is also the Hungarian constitutionality, which we can be proud of. The development of Hungarian constitutionality, which goes far back to the middle ages, determines our

political thinking, because for us St. Stephen also has modern principles, and this is decisive.

And for Hungarian parliamentarianism, for parlamentary governing, the 1848 revolution and freedom fight was a constitutional revolution, and we must never forget this, and this constitutional revolution resulted for Hungary, after the grave years of absolutism, no matter how it can be disputed politically or historically, after 1867, in a period which brought this country nearer to the western part of Europe than at any other time before. [sentence as heard]

This historical inheritance has to jointly determine our attitude, and we will preserve everything from the past that is good, but now, we have to start building the future because the Hungarian people expect the solution of their problems, restoring their faith, and easing their anxiety and internal tensions.

With this belief, I will attempt to serve and fulfill the commission that I accepted and that I consider as a great honor.

MTI Gives Biography of Acting President Goncz

LD0205191490 Budapest MTI in English 1237 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 2 (MTI)—Mr. Goncz was born in 1922, in Budapest, where he also took his maturation examination. Subsequently, he studied law at the Law Faculty of the Pazmany Peter University and obtained a doctor's degree in 1944. He also took part in the anti-fascist political resistance movement.

Dr. Goncz started his political career in the Independent Smallholders' Party, by being secretary to the party's general secretary. He led the Budapest organisation of the independent youth organisation and became the managing editor of the weekly called NEMZEDEK (GENERATION).

As of 1948 he became unemployed and made his living as a labourer. He finished four years at the Godollo University of agriculture. In 1958 he was sentenced for life imprisonment as an accused of the second order in the Bibo trial, of which he served six years.

Afterwards he became a literary and specialist translator. Presently Mr. Goncz is the chairman of the Hungarian Federation of Writers. He is a writer of dramas, and an awardee of the Jozsef Attila and the Wheatland literary prizes. He is a founding member of the Network of Free Initiatives, the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Committee for Historical Justice.

MTI Gives Biographies on Parliament Officials

LD0205211490 Budapest MTI in English 1714 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Budapest May 2 (MTI)—Gyorgy Szabad, deputy speaker and acting speaker of parliament, was born in Arad on August 4, 1924, laid [as received] his final examinations in Budapest and graduated from the Faculty of History and Archives in Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences in 1950. Staff member of the national archives from 1949, assistant lecturer at the university from 1954, assistant professor from 1956, and professor from 1970, corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 1982, founding member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] in 1987, and member of the HDF national board since 1989.

Matyas Szuros, deputy speaker of parliament, was born in Puspokladany in 1933, studied at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and the Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest. From 1958, staff members in the Foreign Ministry, then secretary at the Berlin Embassy. From 1965, staff member of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, then ambassador to the GDR and the Soviet Union. After returning to Hungary, Mr. Szuros headed the CC's Foreign Affairs Department. Secretary of the Central Committee from 1983, and member of parliament from 1985. In March 1989, Mr. Szuros was elected speaker of parliament. From October 23, 1989, he was interim president of the Republic of Hungary

Vince Voros, deputy speaker of parliament, was born at Kisbicserd in 1911. Joined the Smallholders' Party in 1935. Founding member of the Hungarian Peasant Federation. From 1942 to 1944, deputy president, and, from 1945 to 1948, general secretary of the federation. Mr. Voros was member of parliament from 1944 to 1947, and national deputy general secretary of the Independent Smallholders' Party [ISP] from 1945 to 1948. In 1947, he was one of the defendants in the trial of the so-called anti-republican plot. During the 1956 revolution, Mr. Voros, together with Bela Kovacs, reorganized the Smallholders' Party. From 1989 to April 1990, he was national president of the ISP.

Official on CSFR Dam Project Position

LD0205181490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros affair is not being settled. However, many people thought that after the political changes in Czechoslovakia, the dispute which has burdened the two countries' relations for a long time would be settled in a reassuring manner. Henrik Havas has interviewed State Secretary Laszlo Udvari, government commissioner for the investment, on the latest developments.

[Begin recording] [Udvari] Since 23 March, I have been government commissioner for the Danube water dam, which is meant to indicate that concerning the previous Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage system, Hungary will definitively halt the building work at Nagymaros, since this is expressed by the decree passed by the

Council of Ministers in March regarding my legal status, and the change in the name [of my position].

[Havas] Good reports finally came in from Slovakia last week. The telegraph agency reported that the Slovak Government will permit only property maintenance and flood protection work at the Gabcikovo site in the future.

[Udvari] This unfortunately is not so. The source of the report is that numerous environmental protection movements and two expert committees appealed to the Slovak Government to carry out only flood protection and property maintenance. In truth, the Slovak Government's standpoint is for the Gabcikovo power station to begin operation as soon as possible, alongside a system of ecological conditions to be established with Hungary. This is the Slovak standpoint; it is also shared by the Czechoslovak Federal Government. The Czechoslovak Government passed the resolution in early April that negotiations in the matter must begin with Hungary as soon as possible. I also know from diplomatic sources, that it was also said at the Czechoslovak Federal Government session that they intend to accept only a four or five year postponement concerning the building of the Nagymaros water dam system, too.

[Havas] Allow me to interrupt—this is simply incomprehensible. In the past, the civic opposition circles, which had good relations with the Czechoslovak environmental protectors, who constantly pointed out the ecological dangers, have now got into the government. Well, Vaclav Havel, the current Czechoslovak President, in the past spoke out against the water barrage system. If I understand correctly what you say, properly speaking this new Czechoslovak Government and Slovak Government are continuing where Husak's men ended.

[Udvari] Yes, the most recent decisions put the Czechoslovak position back at the position of October last year, represented by Adamec and Jakes. I, personally, and many people in Hungary who deal with this matter, believe that this is temporary. This represents the final blows of the hydroelectric power station's lobby in Slovakia. The true turnabout in the perception of the government can, I believe, be expected after the June changes in Czechoslovakia. [end recording]

Ministry Asks Grosz To Hand Over Kadar Papers

LD0205204490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] The Culture and Education Ministry has requested in writing that former prime minister Karoly Grosz hand over the Kadar papers, which are in his possession, and also all documents of public interest for safe-keeping in the archives. The ministry has also asked that Gabor Koltai, director of the publisher SZABAD TER, to do the same. He was the publisher of the book, "Documents Which Were Not Burned". The Culture and Education Ministry's communique calls to the attention of every private individual that in accordance with the law on archives, everybody is obliged to hand in documents of historical value within 30 days.

Forint Devalued Against CSFR Koruna

LD0205204890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] The Hungarian National Bank [MNB] has devalued the Forint against the Czech Koruna by nearly 20 percent. From now on we will be able to buy 266 Forints for 100 Koruna [KCS] while the bank will buy Koruna at an unchanged price. The MNB explained its decision by claiming that recently speculators have been buying Czech KCS in huge amounts and it is this which (?we) would like to prevent. Thus, the Forint-Koruna exchange rate has not been changed on the basis of an agreement between the two states and therefore Czechoslovakia is expected to continue to endeavor to achieve the devaluation of the Forint against the Czech national currency to an even greater extent.

FRG's Von Weizsaecker, Genscher Continue Visit

Von Weizsaecker Dinner Speech

LD0205193790 Hamburg DPA in German
1047 GMT 2 May 90

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] [FRG Federal] President Richard von Weizsaecker said, among other things, at a dinner in Warsaw this evening given by President Wojciech Jaruzelski:

...Of the nine countries which we Germans border, Poland is the only one which I have not been able to visit before. The cause is certainly not mutual indifference. Quite the contrary. Poland, together with France, is one of our most important neighbors. But the burden of recent history and current problems stood in the way. My pleasure is even greater then at being among you now, and I believe that we share even more clearly on our meeting the consciousness of our great responsibility for good neighborliness in the future.

Together we are experiencing one of the rare phases of history in which the truly new is coming into being and could become destiny. We are at the beginning of a new epoch, not only for our peoples but for all of Europe. For all Europeans it is of decisive significance that we, Germans and Poles, think in terms of longer periods of time, look beyond the horizon of our own church tower, recognize the signs of the times, and make them the maxim of our joint actions.

Poland has sought and found the path to freedom. In a process that was full of pain and yet peaceful, it gave evidence to all sides of courage and reason. In this way Poland took on a successful and shaping role of pioneering signficance in Europe. It has given its neighbors an inspiring example.

The people in the GDR have also achieved freedom and self-determination through a peaceful revolution. The consequence of this will in the near future be the state unity of the Germans. In this way Poles and Germans will reach a turning point in their history as neighbors, as free and undivided peoples. Will we make use of this historic opportunity? Are we in a position to produce that high degree of mutual understanding, of strength, and the desire for truthfulness which we need for this?

If Germans and Poles want to find a common future, this will only be achieved in honest recollection of the past. It is true that in the thousand years of being neighbors, there have been long periods of close links and peaceful borders between the two people. But our current consciousness is marked by the horrors of the last war, in which we Germans overran your country, the horrors of the occupation, the terrible crimes of the concentration camps, the fate of the Jewish ghettos, of the destruction of Warsaw. Untold suffering has been done to you by Germans, and we have a heavy cross to bear.

Untold [numbers of] Germans, too, experienced an inhuman fate when they were expelled from their traditional and beloved home. They were forcibly uprooted, many lost their lives, and the wounds are only healing slowly.

We cannot make comparisons between the histories of our peoples, cannot draw up tallies on each side. What one man suffered is not made easier by the fate of another. Nor may injustice that has been done be unsaddled on the succeeding generations. They bear no guilt. But they want to commemorate the victims and those who bore the suffering on all sides in deep sorrow and respect. They owe them recollection and need their warning.

A quarter of a century ago, the Polish bishops said at the end of the Second Vatican Council: "We forgive and ask for forgiveness." This is the liberating force of the spirit and the truth which allows the path to one another to be found. Reconciliation does not mean suppressing recollection but taking it truly seriously. For our current tasks, too, we need the good spirit of understanding. We do not want to divide ourselves reciprocally into good and evil in order to retain reservations against rapprochement. We may count on human insight and readiness to accept that the time has come to turn to one another openly. For that reason I am sincerely grateful for the words of understanding spoken on the Polish side to the sufferings of Germans.

At the center of European peace stands the obligation for all peoples to never again launch the unholy struggle for borders and territory. We Germans know what this means for us with regard to the Poles. Mr. President, Poland can without reservation trust in the fact that the border questions between us are, in their substance, irrevocably clarified and that in the process of German unity which is coming about they will receive the necessary internationally binding treaty form. Today's western border of Poland remains untouched. We respect it and do not have now or in the future any territorial claims against Poland or any other neighbor. We Germans say this not in order to legitimate the injustice that men have suffered; we say it in lasting solidarity with the heavy lot of our compatriots who have lost houses and homes, villages, and homelands. We know how many Poles have suffered such a fate from their own bitter experience and we also know that it was certainly not the Polish population which at the end of the war caused and brought about the shifting of Polish territory to the west.

Between Poles and Germans, however, as in all of Europe, the aim is not to recognize borders so that they can better divide us from one another. Quite the contrary: they should lose their dividing character. Borders should become bridges. We do not want to tear down the Berlin Wall in order to build it anew on the Oder and Neisse. And we also ask you to promote the idea of the open border.

If we are to build such bridges then we should not yield to an excess of feelings but soberly be aware of obstacles and make use of opportunities considerately. We know that there is not only cordial hospitality among the people themselves, but that there are also concerns and reactions of rejection. Some Poles fear a new German drive to the east and are concerned about being bought up. On the other hand, not every German welcomes the many trading tourists from Poland.

We should be aware that liberation from the constraint of dictatorships does not free old differences. This applies throughout Europe. It would be an appalling anachronism to fall back into the unholy and hostile nationalism of former times. Rather, we can and want, together under the sign of freedom, to counter fear and hatred of foreigners. We will, therefore, not cease on this or that side of the rivers to be German or Polish. But we share an interest in flourishing border regions on both sides and in general in cooperation for industry and agriculture, environmental protection, and recreation.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki and Federal Chancellor Kohl made a good and new beginning with their joint statement in November 1989. The opportunity is open to Germans in Poland and to Poles in Germany to care for their cultural identity and to develop it. There is no freedom without pluralism. And it is a characteristic of a true culture of our own when we learn to respect "differences," to accept them within our countries, and to feel that they are enriching. [passage omitted quoting pope on minorities, great tasks awaiting us, review of Poland's economic efforts]

We wish to contribute everything possible for us to your success, which is so important for Europe, above all by means of direct cooperation. We will certainly not neglect this because of the efforts for German unity. The framework which was created during the federal chancellor's visit in November is being filled out increasingly. Today a comprehensive program on the training of specialist and management staff for the economy is being signed. German enterprises are sharing confidence in Poland's economic future. By far the largest number of applications for joint ventures in Poland are being made by Germans. The Western states community in the group of 24 is also supporting your efforts for reform, under the conceptional and coordinating leadership of the European Community. [passage omitted recalling Poland's history]

Poles and Germans today share two central aims, namely to promote the turning of Central, East, and Southeast Europe toward the entire continent and to incorporate the Soviet Union into European development, to support the success of President Gorbachev's policy on perestroyka and on the confederalization of the republics. [passage omitted on cooperation needed between Germany and Poland, and Germany and the Soviet Union]

Is the growing German unity really an obstacle to this? I believe, first of all, that it is also better for Poland not to have a politically immobile dictatorship on the other side of the Western border but rather a liberal democracy integrated into the West. [passage omitted on history of FRG as country integrated into West; recounting history of path to German unity, new atmosphere of peace in Europe, history of German-Polish yearning for peace]

Jaruzelski Dinner Speech

LD0205222790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2124 GMT 2 May 90

["Excerpts" of speech by President Wojciech Jaruzelski at dinner in honor of FRG Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker in Warsaw on 2 May—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Federal President, esteemed Mrs. Weizsaecker, ladies and gentlemen. I am happy to greet you, an eminent German statesman who enjoys universal respect, who has for such a long time been personally engaged in bringing our nations closer together. I greet the deputy chancellor and minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who is sincerely devoted to the idea of Polish-German dialogue. I also greet the people accompanying you. I give my sincere best wishes to Mrs. Marianne von Weizsaecker, Mrs. Barbara Genscher, and all the ladies present here.

It so happens, Mr. President, that we are almost of the same age. You entered Polish territory in German uniform. I marched on German territory in a Polish uniform as far as the Elbe. Much water had to flow by both in the Rhine and in the Oder, much had to change, for our meeting in Warsaw today to be able to take place. The wartime Gehenna must not be forgotten—this is our obligation to the millions of victims, but above all an expression of joint will that young Poles and Germans should never experience the fate of our generation. We do not want to unceasingly refer to past events, though many scars still bring severe pain to this day. The Polish nation was on the verge of extermination. It suffered particularly greatly. But we can also sympathize with the German people, aware of their harsh experiences as a consequence of the cruel war generated by Hitler that brought the bitter fate of homeless wandering also known well to Poles and the necessity to leave behind ones familial territory.

Ten centuries of Poland and Germany being neighbors has written various pages of history. Besides bad and tragic ones, there were also good and beautiful ones. They are worth commemorating when thinking about the future. We value the great contribution of the German people to European civilization, thoughts of liberty, science, and culture. We remember Polish songs by Bettina von [name indistinct] as well as prophetic words by Ludwig (Uhland) who, in a verse dedicated to Adam Michiewicz, wrote: The dead will be reborn again, Poland has not yet perished. And he wrote this at the time when the Polish state had been erased from the map of Europe by the invading powers. Examples of mutual

intermingling and symbiosis of our cultures are numerous. They are the following: Wit Stwosz, Daniel Chodowiecki, Samuel Bogumil Linde, Oskar Kolberg, Aleksander Bruckner, Johannes Bobrowski, Gunther Grass, Karl Dedecius, Marion von [name indistinct], Christa Wolff, and many many others.

World War II did, however, create a chasm betwen the Poles and the Germans. It seemed to be impossible to bridge but gradually, one by one, those bridges appeared. The first of them 40 years ago in Zgorzelec. This is an historical fact that the process of Polish-German reconciliation began from the GDR.

I wish to express respect also for all those political forces and citizens of the FRG who spared no efforts to bring about the Treaty of 1970 and then to move Polish-German relations onto a track of convergence and understanding. In this, the churches of our countries deserve a lot of merit. You, too, Mr. President, your deeply humanistic attitude is the moral support for so many of your fellow countrymen who desire so sincerely to open a new chapter in the history of our nations. You said: I have always had a special concern for our attitude to Poland. You confirmed these words in practice many times. This encourages respect and liking among the Poles.

Germany is becoming again one of the biggest contemporary powers. This causes understandable reminiscences. They are stimulated by various alarming facts. The following question is logical: What use will be made of its enormous potential by the future united German State?

All Europe will carefully watch the further progress of its policy. This applies to Poland in particular. We have the best possible intentions. Without the true unification of the two biggest nations of Central Europe, it is difficult to talk about the unity of our continent. The good neighborly cooperation of our states and nations determines its future participation in this historic task. I am glad you share [words indistinct]. The treaty's guarantees for the current Polish western and northern border are an essential precondition. [passage indistinct] We hope that a united, democratic Germany will play a constructive role in the parallel process of integration in Europe and that it will contribute to stability, mutual understanding, and construction of an effective system of collective security in this part of the world. We also think that the dynamic German economy will play, with advantage to all, in everyone's interest, an active and stimulating role in constructing the all-European economic, ecological, and technological infrastructure. The full and equal participation of Poland and other states of Central and East Europe in this process is one of the key conditions for overcoming the divisions on our continent. [words indistinct] Our nation expects a proper recompense for the hundreds of thousands of Poles who were inmates of concentration camps and those who were deported to Germany and sent for slave labor. It is high time to resolve this painful problem once and for all.

Poles of the between-war and wartime periods, had a bad experience of [word indistinct] German minority. We do not wish to return to this chapter either.

In our republic, all citizens loyal to it, regardless of extraction or nationality, are and will be inhabitants with equal rights of the Polish home between the Bug and the Odra.

Mr. Federal President, honored guests! Poland brings under the common European roof the experiences of its complex history, a worthy contribution to the victory over fascism, its own cultural heritage, and the scientific and material achievements of many generations. It also brings its many years of activity in the international arena, promoting the progress of detente, arms limitation, and confidence-building. Finally, it brings profound internal democratic transformations, which, as part of todav's wider process, earlier began to pave the way for changes in Central and Eastern Europe.

We want our country to continue to contribute to rapprochement, to cooperation between East and West, to European unity. Polish-German relations are entering a new phase. An eloquent expression of this is the joint declaration by the heads of both governments in November of last year. We are counting on your visit to Poland being an important step on this road.

Our talks today fill one with hope. They were characterized by mutual understanding, frankness, and goodwill. We agreed in expressing the will for joint actions for the future. We believe that they will be fruitful, that we will make use of the historic opportunity.

I propose a toast to Mr. Federal President and his wife, to all our German guests, to the peaceful future of Europe, and to the development of good-neighborly and friendly relations between our states and peoples.

Weizsaecker, Jaruzelski on Ties

LD0205211290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] [Announcer] Here is what the Polish and German statesmen told "The News" after their meeting:

[Begin recording] [Weizsaecker in German with simultaneous Polish translation] I judge that I am in accord with my host, that this is precisely the task of our generation: that we should do everything within our powers to attain normality and goodneighborliness. I judge that the most important topics are good neighborliness with Poland, intensive economic cooperation, and Polish-German contributions to the gradual attainment of a cooperative security policy. I judge that all these topics are (?very) straightforward, but they are attainable.

[Jaruzelski] I completely agree with what the president said a moment ago. Any problem can be difficult if there is no will to resolve it. And any problem becomes easy if this will exists. We have jointly expressed such a will. I am convinced that this is the will of our societies. Of course, many barriers must still be overcome on this road, but what we have done so far allows us to look to the future with optimism. We will be continuing our talks, and I judge that these problems, about which the president spoke, will be ever closer to us the more clear they are, and thereby successfully resolved. I am counting on this. [end recording]

Von Weizsaecker Meets Premier

LD0205212290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] The problems and prospects for economic cooperation were one of the chief topics of President von Weizsaecker's talks with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The FRG president gave the assurance that the efforts for a united Germany would not act as a brake on the involvement of the German economy in the implementation of Poland's reforms.

The chances and possibilities for mutual understanding, including those in the spiritual sphere, between Poles and Germans, were discussed by Richard von Weizsaecker with the primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

The FRG president met the Sejm and Senate Speakers. Broader Polish-German parliamentary relations were announced. Richard von Weizsaecker said that the issue of Germany's unequivocal recognition of Poland's western border is well on the way. The president expressed the hope that contacts beteen the young generation of Poles and Germans would become increasingly better.

Von Weizsaecker on Border Issue

LD0205212390 Warsaw PAP in English 1951 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—At today's press conference FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker stated that after many difficult years and months the "heart of the matter" was explained with regard to the Odra-Nysa border. The explanation means that the current line of the border and the current division of territories is inviolable both now and in the future, any corrections are ruled out, the FRG president said.

He also voiced the conviction that both sides would reach a formal legal solution in a treaty that would be binding and that would satisfy them. Weizsaecker was sure that the solution would be found during the German unification process. He pointed out that both foreign ministers discussed this and that details would be discussed tomorrow by experts of the foreign ministries of Poland, the FRG and the GDR. In this way the problem would be solved at the bilateral level and agreed would be its presentation during negotiations 2 plus 4.

Skubiszewski Receives Genscher

LD0205200490 Warsaw PAP in English 1508 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski met here today with FRG vice-chancellor, Foreign Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher who is accompanying the FRG president in his official visit to Poland.

The two ministers discussed a treaty regulating Poland's border with Germany, which should be signed with the United Germany.

Skubiszewski and Genscher signed an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in the training of managerial cadres for economy,.

Mazowiecki Meets With Genscher

LD0205201190 Warsaw PAP in English 1929 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met here today with FRG vice-chancellor, Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher who is accompanying the FRG president on his Polish visit.

Jaruzelski Talks With Genscher

LD0305084490 Warsaw PAP in English 0100 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—On the first day of his official visit to Poland today the FRG president was accompanied by FRG Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

He had a talk with President Wojciech Jaruzelski during which cited Thomas Mann's Dilemma "German Europe or European Germany." Genscher said that Germany wanted to be European and that such will was dominating in the German nation. He also added that Germany would not fulfil this aim without Poland.

Jaruzelski very highly assessed the importance of the FRG president's visit to Poland. As for Polish-German relations, we should not only strive for agreement, reconciliation but also for friendship. Therefore it is so important to create solid foundations of our relations that will endure overloading, the Polish president stated.

Genscher was received by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki as well.

He also met with Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. At a face-to-face meeting both ministers discussed a treaty which would finally settle the Polish western border. This treaty should be signed alongside the German unification.

The two ministers signed an inter-government agreement on cooperation in educating and training personnel in the economy.

Von Weizsaecker on Joint Issues

LD0305084190 Warsaw PAP in English 0030 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—At the beginning of his press conference here today FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker made a statement in which he underlined the importance of the German-Polish relations not only for the two nations but for the whole of Europe as well.

The development of freedom-oriented and democratic transformations observed in Europe results to a considerable degree from the example set by Poland. In the GDR and the FRG we are fully aware that the developments in Poland in the past 10 years exerted a great influence on the possibility of making changes in the GDR, the president said.

Weizsaecker considered it a common German-Polish task to develop cooperation in the sphere of interhuman relations, in the spheres of economy and security, which would be conducive to the process of coexistence in the whole of Europe.

Recalling that in the 1980's interhuman relations were more dynamic than inter-governmental contacts, Weizsaecker considered it a positive sign of political climate and social awareness conducive to cooperation.

It lies in the German interest that the Polish road to reforms succeed, the FRG president said and underlined the commitment of West German firms to cooperation with Poland. The commitment stems from Poland's consistent road of pursuing economic reforms, he stated.

Weizsaecker said that it is a common interest of Germans and Poles to develop elements conducive to building confidence and common responsibility in Europe. The better cooperation is organized and integration advanced, the more difficult it will be for elements driving at Europe's disintegration to act.

Germans and Poles face a grateful task of political, economic and interhuman rapprochement. The talks held in Warsaw so far prove that both sides agree on the key issues, Richard von Weizsaecker stated.

Answering questions on Poland's western border and a treaty settlement of the issue, the FRG president stated that following many difficult years and months the essence of the problem has been cleared up.

He also expressed conviction that it will be possible to achieve a treaty, formal solution, satisfactory to and binding both sides. According to the president it will be achieved during the process of German unification.

The details are to be discussed by the ministers of foreign affairs of Poland, the FRG and the GDR on May 3. In this way the question will be solved at the bilateral level and its presentation at the two-plus-four conference agreed upon.

Clearing the essence of the problem up means that the border in its present shape and the present demarcation of territories is inviolable now and in future. All corrections are out of the question, Richard von Weizsaecker said.

According to the president Germany and Poland agree that it lies in the mutual vital interest that the process of reforms in the Soviet Union should not break down.

Not willing to revive the old fears about Germans and Russian talking and acting over Poland's head, the FRG wants to cooperate with the Soviet Union together with Poland.

The FRG president voiced support for Poland's efforts to join the EC.

In the face of fears that while having a powerful Germany as its neighbor Poland might change into a subsidiary country, von Weizsaecker opined that it should appease Poles that they will have a free democratic society, and not a dictatorship, for its neighbor.

The FRG president expressed conviction that also Germans in the GDR want to join in the process of integration and not to turn back to the 19th century concepts of continental superpowers.

Weizsaecker pointed to the importance of the message from Polish bishops to German ones of 1965 ("we forgive and ask for forgiveness") and stressed that it would be much more difficult for politicians to achieve normalization in the mutual relations without this statement.

Asked about the problem of compensations for the Nazism victims in Poland, President Weizsaecker said that the issue was discussed during Chancellor Kohl's meetings with Poland's prime minister and president. It was promised to comprehensively examine the question and work on it is under way.

Von Weizsaecker Meets Skubiszewski, Geremek

LD0305081690 Hamburg DPA in German 0722 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker received Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski in Warsaw today. This talk apparently dealt with the implications of German unity and with the Polish desire, even before the unification of the two German states, to initial a treaty on the border question. This issue is also the subject of talks between experts of the two German states and Poland.

Earlier, Von Weizsaecker spoke with Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Solidarity party group in the parliament. After laying wreaths at the memorials for the Jews murdered by the National Socialists in the former

ghetto, the federal president will visit the Treblinka extermination camp, in which some 800,000 Jews from many European countries were murdered.

Von Weizsaecker on German Unity

LD0305101890 Hamburg DPA in German 0908 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker believes that the unification of Germany will be beneficial to European amalgamation. The federal president, who has been on a state visit to Poland since Wendesday, told the Polish Europa Club in Jablonna today that Germans and Poles are particularly dependent on the nascent European confederation. "A German-Polish community of interests is not only a requirement of the moment but also, thank heavens, increasingly a reality." The German head of state stressed.

Referring to the concerns circulating in Poland about the implications of German unification, Weizsaecker said that it would be futile to search for indications in present-day Germany of ideas for a new special role for the nation. There are no Teutonic dreams of a new national power center lurking. Rather, the Germans in the Federal Republic and in the GDR are characterized by quite natural, normal interests. The Germans' qualities are not always heart-warming to other people, but their country is considered by its neighbors to be "sufficiently capable, predictable, and reliable." This will certainly not change with unification.

The federal president praised the Polish people's unwavering desire for freedom, which has played a decisive role in bringing about the historic opportunity of overcoming the continent's division and "therefore also bringing light into the darkly-shaded area of German-Polish neighborly relations." The Germans have followed Poland's course over the past decade with the greatest admiration and inner sympathy. Similarly, the Poles and other peoples shared their joy when, on 9 November 1989, the Berlin Wall, "the architectural symbol of inhumanity," crumbled. "Pulling down walls means coming together," the federal president explained.

Talks on Western Border Begin With FRG, GDR

LD0305114190 Hamburg DPA in German 1037 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The political directors of the Foreign Ministries of Poland, the FRG, and the GDR have begun talks in Warsaw today on the procedure for a contractual recognition of Poland's western border in light of the future unification of Germany. Bonn is represented at the talks by Dieter Kastrup, director of the Political Affairs Department in the Foreign Ministry.

It was reported in Warsaw that, in addition to the border issue, the talks will deal with problems of legal succesion and with the fate of bilateral treaties between Poland and the two German states. Before the negotiations, Poland repeatedly expressed the wish that a border treaty with the two German states, due to be signed after unification, be initialled. The West German Government, on the other hand favored identical resolutions from the two German parliaments.

Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said today that the question of a border treaty was "on a favorable course," but the negotiations would "not be easy." Solidarity parliamentary group Chairman Bronislaw Geremek expressed the hope that the negotiations now beginning "will create guarantees so that the problem of the border at the Oder and the Neisse will disappear from Polish-German relations."

Opinion Poll on FRG Policy Cited

LD0205200890 Warsaw PAP in English 1501 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—Fifty-two per cent of those asked by the public opinion sounding center (CBOS) last February to assess the FRG policy spoke about it with disapproval. 14 per cent of the respondents voiced positive opinion about it while 33 per cent had no opinion whatsoever.

Sixty-two per cent of those polled unequivocally supported a stand by the Polish Government on the importance of Poland's voice at negotiations on German's unification. Only 8 per cent said the decision on the matter should be made exclusively by the "big four" and two Germanys.

The major part of respondents (76 per cent) said it would be safer for Poland if two German states continued to exist.

In comparison with October, 1988, the number of those declaring friendliness towards the FRG went down from 50.1 per cent to 34.3 per cent while more respondents described their feelings to that state as negative (an 18-per cent increase: from 29.9 to 48.1 per cent).

While in July last 49.9 per cent of respondents said they did not like Germans, February last saw 56.4 per cent of the polled giving such answers.

Polish-German Paper Published in Opole

LD2404215990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Excerpt] There is a Polish and German newspaper in the Opole voivodship. The trial issue of the WIADOMOSCI GORNOSLASKIE [NEWS FROM UPPER SILESIA] newspaper has just been published. Publishing of this paper is an implementation of one of the points in the agreements reached between Mazowiecki and Kohl. [passage omitted]

British Foreign Secretary Meets Walesa

LD0205191990 Warsaw PAP in English 1755 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Gdansk, May 2—British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd went to Gdansk today where he met with Lech Walesa. During the meeting, they stressed the great importance of the peaceful and evolutionary character of reforms in the countries of Central Europe and in the Soviet Union. They expressed the conviction that Lithuania would also gain its independence on a peaceful road.

Lech Walesa pointed to possibilities that open up in Poland for foreign investors, while Hurd spoke about a necessity for the Polish economy to adjust itself to Western economic standards what was aided by the British know-how fund and a programme of managers training.

The Solidarity leader voiced his support for the policy conducted by the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

After the meeting, Douglas Hurd told newsmen that they spoke about solutions which might speed up reforms in Poland, mainly in the economic sphere. He said that Walesa asked him to introduce the British business to Poland faster and added they did not touch upon the two-plus-four conference.

Lech Walesa said: "I could not talk about the two-plus-four talks. The prime minister is the one who discusses the matter. I only encouraged the British side to do good business in and with Poland."

Later on, Foreign Secretary Hurd laid flowers at the monument to the fallen shipyard workers and familiarized himself with the history of the obelisk erected to pay tribute to those shot dead by security forces in 1970.

At the town hall, Hurd was received by Gdansk President Jerzy Pasinski. In the afternoon, Hurd visited the St Brigida church. Parish-priest Father Henryk Jankowski told him about the history of the building and its importance for Gdansk Solidarity. At the Solidarity chapel, Hurd laid flowers at the monument to Father Jerzy Popieluszko.

Addressing Gdansk residents who came to the church, Hurd stressed that his stay in that town was a pleasant moment of his concluding visit to Poland while the St Brigida church was a symbol of the fate, courage and sacrifice of Gdansk residents in their struggle for freedom.

Douglas Hurd left Gdansk for London.

UN Development Program Official Visits

Received by Jaruzelski

LD0105012390 Warsaw PAP in Engish 2145 GMT 30 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 30—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski received today William H. Draper, United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] administrator.

They discussed possibilities of giving more support by the UNDP for the process of the ongoing transformations in Poland. This should help the Polish side absorb more foreign economic and investment aid and also better use it as well as more efficiently use its own means and ventures in restructuring of the economy.

Draper informed Jaruzelski that an agreement, to be signed during his visit, would introduce a special programme of technical aid in such fields as telecommunications, transport, the industrial policy (especially cooperation with foreign investment capital). The social policy (with particular regard to the functioning of labour market) and environment protection. These are the fields of key importance for the implementation of the Polish Government economic programme.

Discusses Reforms With Leaders

LD3004194690 Warsaw PAP in English 1831 GMT 30 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 30—Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme UNDP William H. Draper met here today with representatives of Polish authorities to discuss the support of Polish reforms.

Draper was received by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Sides stressed the role which the international organizations could play in supporting Poland's transformations.

Details of cooperation are discussed with the UNDP's administrator by Deputy Premier Jan Janowski, who said that the government especially counts on the possibility of taking advantage of assistance, experts' reports as well as of experiences gathered by the UNDP while tackling social and industrial policies.

William H. Draper said that the UNDP will undertake coordinating tasks, that it will put at Poland's disposal its experts and support urgent ventures in the frame lines of the programme of reforms started by Poland. In connection with this, UNDP plans to open its bureau in Warsaw.

Draper also held talks with deputy premier, Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

In the afternoon, Janowski and Draper signed a letter of intention, in which they defined proposed activities of

the Polish Government and the UNDP and national and regional priorities in cooperation in the frame lines of the UNDP.

The letter also deals with financial questions, like for instance using UNDP's funds as initial capital for programmes which can receive additional financial support from government and non-government sources.

Government Spokesman on 3 May National Day

LD0205170290 Warsaw PAP in English 1503 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—We remember the not distant past when May 3rd parades were dispersed with the use of police vehicles and tear gas and when those who did not manage to escape from batons very often served sentences for the "participation in illegal demonstrations breaching the peace and social order." Spokesman for the government, Minister Malgorzata Niezabitowska told GAZETA WYBORCZA today.

Thus, I imagine, that now, after the regaining by society of the most important national day, its first, after forty years, official ceremonies will become a day of happiness for all Poles, added the spokesman.

May 3rd will be marked by a gala military parade to be held at the Warsaw Zamkowy Square at 10 a.m.. Then, at 5 p.m., a solemn mass will be celebrated by primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp at the Warsaw cathedral.

In a commentary carried by GAZETA WYBORCZA, editor-in-chief of the daily Adam Michnik wrote:

For Poles May 3rd is something more than just an anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution. It is a certain sign of identity, the persistent sticking to this holiday in the past several dozen years was a sign of resistance against sovietization, against violation of national memory and attacks on national identity.

Thus, May 3rd is a sign of regaining sovereignty by the state and the historical heritage by the society.

Western Economists Attend Economic Meeting

AU0205123790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Piotr Aleksandrowicz report: "Further Treatment Required"]

[Text] Paul Volcker, former chief of the Federal Reserve, the U.S. central bank, said: "Our general conclusion is that the first stage of the stabilization program has been competently implemented. But that is the easiest part of the program. Now comes the difficult part. Serious problems will have to be solved."

The 24 April meeting of foreign economic experts, attended by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, attempted to define these problems. From them, one can single out two main issues. First, one must not succumb to pressure and make a radical attempt to contain the recession by altering monetary or credits policy. "As far as economic expansion is concerned, whether by means of the budget or by means of monetary policy, our advice is to be exceptionally careful," said P. Volcker.

This view was shared by other experts—bankers, scholars, and representatives of the World Bank and IMF. Stanislaw Wellisz of Columbia University confined himself to saying that interest rates should be diminished somewhat. Jeffrey Sachs from Harvard University shook his head skeptically.

The discussion, chaired by Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz, underlined the fact that the three months which have elapsed since the start of the stabilization program are "next to nothing"; that even though inflation has fallen, it is still at a high rate of 5 percent per month; and that one cannot talk of a vanquishing of inflation until there have been no significant price increases for at least six months. Apart from that, goods shortages have only been eliminated in a few sectors, and, as U.S. presidential adviser John Taylor pointed out, the excess of supply over demand should be much higher.

"The greatest danger is a premature stimulation of demand," said Michael Bruno, governor of the central bank of Israel. "Pursuing too harsh a policy is not as bad as liberalizing this policy prematurely. For it is difficult to achieve credibility for the stabilization program, but easy to lose it."

The second issue which was touched upon many times during the discussion was structural changes in the economy. The Western experts said that it seems as if the government still has no clear concept of these changes, and that a program and strategy for economic restructuring have still not been formulated. "It ought to be explained that various interpretations have been attached to the term 'economic restructuring,' but it actually means changes of ownership and the privatization of the economy," said Michael Bruno. "Changes in the structure of production, reducing production is some spheres and boosting it in others, is also a way of encouraging competition. Finally, structural changes also involve the creation of a capital market, stock exchanges, new financial institutions, and banks."

Mr. Jacob Frenkel of the IMF pointed out that the process of change is only in its first stage and that the road in front of Polish society appears to be a long and tough one. Aleksander Nowicki from the World Bank made an interesting statement when he said that concepts like interest rates or currency exchange rates have been rather exotic for Polish society so far, but now the ordinary person can feel the effects of economic restructuring programs, and one can assume that these effects will cause political clashes between various groups. As Mr. Alan Walters from the American Institute of Enterprises put it: "It is easy to chop down an old sick tree, but difficult to grow a new healthy one."

Having listened to the experts' opinions, Premier Mazowiecki said: "In a psychological sense, Polish society is like a sick man who has just been told he has to have a difficult operation, after which he will get well. He has his operation, but is then told that that was just the beginning, and that period of convalescence now lies ahead. His doctors tell him that the convalescence will certainly be long, and that he might recover, but there is no guarantee that he will."

The participants found this allegory amusing. But in fact, there was little to smile about because it very accurately portrays the real state of the economy.

The premier also suggested that society be told that the economy is emerging from the quagmire, that things are changing, and that the sacrifices have not been in vain. The experts' replies were hardly a revelation. They suggested, among other things, a broad opening up of the market toward the rest of the world, and the creation of attractive conditions for foreign capital in Poland. Apart from that, they of course indicated the need to develop the market. But there were no surprises, for there could be none. A continuation of treatment was the remedy prescribed by the meeting.

Some detailed matters were also discussed. Here, the opinion of economists differed. Some of them preferred a banking and financial system in Poland based on the Anglo-Saxon model, and others preferred one based on the West German model, dominated by banks that act on all fronts. The discussion on these and other topics confirmed the view of Paul Volcker whereby politicians and economists are still faced with a difficult choice.

Planning Office on Bleak Economic Situation

AU0205140390 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 28-29 Apr 90 p 1

[Waldemar Mickiewicz report: "The CUP Does Not Foresee...."]

[Text] Several days ago, minister Jerzy Osiatynski, head of the Central Planning Office [CUP], met journalists and stated that the danger of economic recession had not disappeared. It was not known whether the economy had bottomed out or whether there would be even deeper economic recession.

Those doubts were fully confirmed by the recent survey carried out by the Central Planning Office in 136 state-owned enterprises and 36 bank departments. The economic situation in the middle of April was as bad as it was in preceding months. Almost 40 percent of the enterprises surveyed noted a fall in their production. The same number claimed to have maintained production at levels comparable to the preceding month.

Some purchasers were withdrawing from previous orders because they had no money to pay with. The Greater Poland Electronics-Telecommunications Factory "Telkom-Teletra" indicated that even purchasers like the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Polish Office of Post, Telegraph, and Telephones, were canceling previous orders because they had no money to meet their commitments.

The CUP research shows that despite the fall in production during the first half of April, almost 40 percent of the surveyed enterprises stated that finished goods were piling up in their warehouses.

The situation in building sector enterprises and enterprises producing building materials was even worse. The Chelm Cement Works stated that collections of cement were decreasing. Not one of the housing cooperatives in Poznan borrowed finance for new projects in the first quarter of the current year. Overall, cooperatives of this type throughout the country did not have the money to complete their projects, let alone commence any new constructions.

The financial position of many enterprises is deteriorating. In the first half of April the number of enterprises that were unable to obtain financing increased. In comparison with March, the danger that more enterprises would become unable to obtain financing was increasing. Payment bottlenecks were increasing, not decreasing.

The enterprises were seeking a way out by trying to initiate foreign cooperation, namely, seeking markets for their products and looking for people who would want to invest money in Poland. They were also experimenting with changes to their product lines and with direct sales to the public. Nothing seems to suggest, however, that these actions would be successful in surmounting the demand barrier. From the forecasts made by the enterprises themselves, it seems that production will continue at the present level or will fall further.

It is quite understandable that there are increasing difficulties with the payment of taxes. In March, 2,776 enterprises did not pay a dividend, or any tax. The arrears, states RZECZPOSPOLITA of 27 March, already stand at 2.7 milliard zlotys. The government daily says in its headline that "The Day of Settlement Is Approaching." This could mean a wave of bankruptcies. According to the situation on 18 April, unemployment offices had almost 320,000 unemployed on their registers. This is about 50,000 unemployed more than in March.

Bearing in mind the CUP's forecast, to date very accurate, one can state with certainty that the government has no chance of fulfilling the Sejm resolution that accompanied the budget and stipulated that production on an annual scale should not fall by more than 5 percent, national income by 3.1 percent, and purchasing power of salaries by 20 percent.

What will the Sejm do in such a situation? Will it bow before government arguments, accept its own lack of authority, and abandon its resolution? Or will it hold the

government responsible for driving the economy into deep recession? Somehow this unpleasant fact will have to be faced.

Gas Shortages Throughout Country

LD0205194190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] [Announcer] The next problem concerns gasoline. There are shortages throughout the country, particularly in the south. Here is Zofia Chomicz of the Motorists' Radio program.

[Chomicz] According to the Petroleum Products Center (CPN), the cause of the gas crisis lies in the fact that there are shortages of 22,000 tonnes of ethylene at the Plock petrochemical plant, which has restricted the processing of crude oil, and 8,000 tonnes at the Gdansk refinery. Here, the cause is equipment breakdown. To make matters worse, the USSR has failed to supply a single tonne of gas out of a promised 10,000 tonnes. In this situation, the CPN is trying to survive via supplies of gas from the West. Trains containing 98- and 94-octane ethylene, allocated for the southern voivodships, have already left Austria. The next will arrive shortly. The CPN has also concluded an agreement with the U.S. Gulf consortium for the supply of 80,000 tonnes of 98-octane gas. The first supplies ought to reach Gdansk by 8 May. The next will be arriving every two weeks. Apart from this, [word indistinct] is conducting negotiations with partners from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

Walesa Interviewed on Solidarity Congress

AU0205155290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Apr 90 p 1

[Interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by Stanislaw Turnau; place and date not given: "A Congress Like Poland"]

[Text] [Walesa] "The congress is like Poland: many unknown quantities, a lot of talk, and few solutions because there are no solutions yet."

"It is not true that there are no new people. The situation with programmatic issues is the same as the one with cadre issues. There are no clear-cut solutions, therefore there are no leaders. When you assess the congress, do not think that the congress might have been better if only there had been people in it with greater intelligence. It is possible to use nicer, more genteel language, but right now there is nothing one can do because there are too many unknown quantities on the Polish political scene. That is why no new faces were to be seen. There are new faces, but right now there is nothing new that they can say.

"When our work bears fruit, it will be possible to speed up and notice greater mistakes. Right now, in political and economic terms, Poland constitutes fallow ground. Things do not grow on fallow ground overnight."

Asked who would take over his function in the Union, Walesa replied: "Before we arrived, there was barren ground. When we go, there will be barren ground. Almost anyone in this hall could lead 'Solidarity.' There are not many people who are not qualified to do so. Many people could become chairman."

[Turnau] Do you have your own choice of members for the National Commission Presidium and deputy chairmen?

[Walesa] "Of course I have, but I will not yet say who." "Look how the aktivists in Lodz or Bydgoszcz settled matters the way they wanted, not like everywhere else. Here, they want to restrict my opportunities, the very same ones they are themselves enjoying. That is normal, but it has to be seen."

Solidarity-80 Commission Ends Debate

LD3004202290 Warsaw PAP in English 1638 GMT 30 Apr 90

[Text] Szczecin, April 30—The National Co-ordinating Commission of Solidarity-80 closed its debate in Dzczecin today. The meeting was chaired by Marian Jurczyk.

The commission is working out a programme for the union on the basis of regional concepts. According to spokesman for Solidarity- 80. The meeting voiced protest against the lack of activity on the part of the voivodship court in Warsaw as concerns the case of much delayed registration of the Union. The motion was put forward in early March.

The Olsztyn region declared its readiness to join Solidarity-80.

Comparison of Mazowiecki Solidarity Speech

WA0205190590

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish on 20 April, pages 1 and 3, carries a speech by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the Solidarity Congress in Gdansk on 19 April. The RZECZPOSPOLITA version has been compared with the Warsaw Domestic Polish version published in the 20 April DAILY REPORT, pages 45-46, revealing the following variations:

Page 45, column two, paragraph one, sentences two and three read: ...how I understand my role. This experience gained... (providing indistinct words)

Same column, paragraph three, sentences one and two read: ...eminent Solidarity activists. The name of Solidarity will remain... (confirming queried words)

Paragraph four, last sentence to paragraph five, first sentence reads: ...we should understand each other on this.

The first matter... (confirming queried words)

Paragraph six, sentence two reads: ...of respect, patience displayed by the Polish... (providing queried word)

Same paragraph, last sentence to paragraph two, first sentence reads: ...instead we should perceive a great opportunity in the consistent implementation of this difficult program.

If we stop... (rephrasing)

Page 46, column one, second paragraph, last sentence reads: ...sphere of production and exchange this should be... (confirming queried words)

Same column, paragraph four, first sentence reads: ..around the corner, is the construction of the foundations... (rephrasing)

Paragraph six, second sentence reads: ...the security and permanence of our borders. (confirming queried word)

Second column, paragraph two, last sentence reads: ...we should build this political pluralism based... (confirming queried word)

Same sentence reads: ...development of such or other political and social... (providing indistinct words)

Last paragraph, only sentence reads: ...stem can say to one another: We have won... (rephrasing, providing indistinct words)

New Head for Army Education Department

LD2704141190 Warsaw PAP in English 1342 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—Ministe: of National Defence Gen. Florian Siwicki appointed Gen. Krzysztof Owczarek to the post of Head of the Educational Department of the Polish Army.

Gen. Krzysztof Owczarek, 48, started his military career in 1961. Among his various tasks he was head of a regimental club, deputy commander of regiment, deputy commander of division for political affairs, deputy head of the organisational board of the main political board of the Polish Army and head of the political board of the Warsaw Military District. Of late he was deputy commandant of the Technical Military Academy for educational affairs.

He is a graduate of the Military-Political Academy in the USSR, and has an M.A. in Pedagogy.

Demonstrations Continue Around Country

Students in Constanta

AU0205140790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] The demonstration organized by the Union of Free Youth, the League of Students from the Civilian Maritime Institute, and the Fratia Trade Union continues peacefully in Constanta. The demonstrators have blocked Tomis Boulevard in front of the House of Liberty, thus stopping vehicular traffic in that part of town.

As reported before, the aim of this demonstration, which began on 29 April and resembles the one in University Square in Bucharest, is to collect signatures in favor of including point 8 of the Timisoara Proclamation as an amendment to the election law—the establishment of democracy, removing the current leadership of the Constanta Provisional National Unity Council, and the struggle against communism.

Anticommunists in Timisoara

AU0205180090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1640 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/5/1990—Demonstrations continue in the Opera Square of Timisoara. There were some 60-70 persons in the square on Wednesday, 2 May, at noon. From an improvised platform, through loudspeakers, the speakers made known their political options, condemning communism, the Securitate, demanding free and democratic elections. Foreigners, tourists passing through Timisoara, also spoke from the platform several times. The demonstration is not authorized by the police.

Committee for Dialogue Set Up

AU0305070090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] A committee has been set up to initiate a dialogue with representatives of the government and the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC]. This committee includes, among others, Octavian Paler, Gabriel Duteanu, Radu Filipescu, Ana Blandiana, Doina Cornea, Dumitru Dinca, Octavian Radulescu, and representatives of the groups that started the demonstrations.

Rallies in Bucharest, Brasov, Sibiu

AU0305110690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] The part of Bucharest's University Square in Magheru Boulevard, which on April 22 was declared a zone free of communism and neocommunism, is still blocked by demonstrators.

A group of demonstrators has been on hunger strike since Tuesday.

Signatures are being collected at this time in support of amending the election law with point 8 of the Timisoara Proclamation.

The organizers of the demonstration make it clear that they are not involved in the electoral struggle and are not supporting any political party or figure.

More than 100 demonstrators, especially young people, gathered this morning in the City Hall Square in Brasov demonstrating for the Timisoara Proclamation and against the National Salvation Front and Mr. Ion Iliescu. The whole front of a building in the City Hall Square, which is being renovated, was covered with placards glued to it by the demonstrators with anti-Front slogans. Lists of signatures are being set up in support of the Timisoara Proclamation.

Our correspondent in Sibiu has informed us that small-scale demonstrations are being held daily from afternoon to evening. They are attended by 100-200 people in solidarity with the demonstrations in Bucharest's University Square and in Timisoara.

The demonstrators tried to (?walk) through the city but were met with a negative reaction by the people.

Government Rejects Talks With Opposition

AU0305115290 Paris AFP in English 1142 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, May 3 (AFP)—Romania's provisional government on Thursday denied rumours that it was ready to negotiate with its opponents, some of whom are on hunger strike to demand that former Communist officials be barred from standing in this month's general election.

"There is no change in the position of President Ion Iliescu or of Premier Petre Roman," the government spokesman said. "There are no plans for dialogue."

In the geography faculty on University Square, speakers waiting to address the crowd from a balcony overlooking Bucharest's "Communist-free zone" were equally unyielding.

George Vasu, a 34-year-old architect who has not worked since the December revolution, said "we must keep up the rhythm of the demonstration and build up a crescendo" against the National Salvation Front, which took power after the fall of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

The opposition, alleging that some senior NSF members had served the Ceausescu regime until late in the day, wants former Communist Party officials barred from political office. It also insists that the television be freed from government control and the May 20 general election postponed.

Government spokesman Christian Unteanu said Thursday that "to start a dialogue on the basis of

demands like that would be tantamount to refusing to respect the electoral law which the country has adopted."

In reply, the demonstrators camped on University Square have since Monday taken up the words of a song writer made famous by the revolution:

"Don't let them steal what you have won. They have no rights, for they did not fight."

Early Thursday, there were 27 tents in the square and the "canvas city" was still growing, swollen by arrivals from the provinces, including the western city of Timisoara, where the revolution began.

The protestors include 31 hunger strikers, one of whom, 35-year- old civil servant Carmen Aurelia Radulescu, said she had also stopped taking liquids.

The haggard appearance and piercing gaze emphasise the determination of men like Mr. Vasu, who vets speakers before they step out onto the balcony of the geography faculty.

"We turn no-one away," he said. "The only conditions are not to be drunk and to have something to say." Mr. Vasu said that some speeches were too long "and we have to ask for them to be cut".

But he asserted that those who got through the series of checks set up by the Bucharest students' association on the way to the room which leads out onto the balcony had no need of a scriptwriter. All, such as the worker silently rehearsing words on a crumpled piece of paper, "know what they want to say."

Five political parties including the three largest opposition groups threatened Thursday to pull out of the election campaign unless there was a halt to what they described as increasing acts of intimidation.

In an attempt to head off confrontation, one of the groups, the National Peasants' Party, called for an emergency meeting of the Provisional Council of National Unity. The Council, which includes representatives of the National Salvation Front and opposition parties, has met only once in full session in the past five weeks.

Nicu Ceausescu's Trial Set for 26 May

AU0305072090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0700 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest territorial Military Tribunal has set the date for the trial of defendant Nicu Ceausescu for 26 May at 0900 [0600 GMT]. The trial will take place in Sibiu. The defendant is being brought to trial for genocide [genocid] and for not observing regulations on weapons and ammunition.

Iliescu, Roman Sued for Instigating Violence

AU0305094590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 Apr 90 p 2

[Paul Gheorghiu editorial note: "Mr. Octavian Radulescu's Public Statement"]

[Text] During the demonstrations that took place in the afternoon of 19 April in front of the National Theater, Mr. Octavian Radulescu took the floor and explained to those present what the situation was in connection with the fact that he sued some of the top representatives of the current state leadership. Here are his statements:

"I sued some people who instigate violence. These are Ion Iliescu, Cazimir Ionescu, Petre Roman, and Gelu Voican Voiculescu. My action was illegally rejected. The decision had been made before the hearings and before the defendants could have been summoned. I read this decision half an hour ago. The decision had been made although the commission members and the president had not yet arrived, so it was signed by the secretary. The trial proceedings were a mere mockery and the decision had been taken without any evidence being presented. I attacked it legally and I handed in my appeal on 12 April. However, my appeal has been lost with the evident intention of avoiding setting a date for the trial. Today (editor's note: 19 April) I found my file together with the appeal at the mayoralty's registry, as if the mayoralty would hold the trial. I took the file and handed it over to the court. Normally, every law court or judge's office has a judge on duty who is in charge of granting an immediate solution and registering a legal application. However, they refused to register my application, under the pretext that it had to be discussed with the court president. After two hours, I was told that the time set for the trial is a month from now. That is, 15 May, five days before the elections, a sentence can be avoided, but I will follow these people beyond history. Violence has no place within the leadership of a country, and those who are guilty of instigating violence have no place in the leadership because their actions can be repeated any time. I have only done my duty and I will continue to do it to the very end, and I ask them to come and kill me if they want to stop a lawsuit. Then, the lawsuit of the whole Romanian nation will follow against the violence that the Romanian people have suffered throughout the years."

Further on Suit

AU0305095190 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 Apr 90 p 2

[Roxana Iordache editorial note: "The Iliescu-Roman-Voican Trial"]

[Text] As a result of the appeal launched by Mr. Octavian Radulescu on 12 April, the respective file was sent to...the registry of the Bucharest Sector 1 Mayoralty in Banu Manta, from where the claimant recovered it on 19 April and took it personally to the Law Court!

After two hours of waiting (because the female judge on duty appealed to the...president before taking a decision) the claimant was told that the date of the trial was 15 May 1990, which is five days before the elections. Thus, those who are summoned to the court have time to appear before the court for the first hearings (in case the file contains the summons procedure) and, certainly, to protect their candidacy.

Iliescu's Visit to Steel Factory Criticized

AU0105183490 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 20 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed editorial note: "Mr. Iliescu Defies More Than 100,000 Workers"]

[Text] Last Wednesday, 18 April 1990, when more than 100,000 workers from 35 iron and steel enterprises were on strike, Mr. Iliescu defied them all by visiting the 36th "dissident" steel enterprise "Republica," where he was offering smiles and kisses galore. There were also falcons and pioneers there, who gave him flowers "as a token of their warm and boundless love." By the way, what are children doing inside iron and steel factories?

* NSF Role Recalls 1946 Events

90BA0062C Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 20 Apr 90 p 4

[Adrian Grigoropol article: "A Strong Suspicion That History May Repeat Itself (19 November 1946-20 May 1990)"]

[Text] It is self-evident that the revolution and the proclamation of democracy must be followed by free and honest elections.

Nevertheless, as the representative of Communist maneuvers, the NSF [National Salvation Front] is disloyally and continuously scheming to bend the people's will according to the methods used in 1946. The people in power show themselves directly interested in the failure of democracy. Although all their maneuvers have been unmasked, the vicious NSF machinery continues to work unaffected.

Mr. Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP] recently stressed in his interview to the director of Radio Free Europe that the elections must be postponed because decisive internal factors have emerged, such as the events in Tirgu Mures and the Easter break, during which the observance of Christian rites took precedence over electoral concerns and activities, so that one whole month was wasted out of the two months imposed with suspicious authority and obstinacy by the political powers, deaf to all rational considerations of political fairness. Thus, under damnable constraints and having no other alternative, the party has taken appropriate measures to face the competition, while continuing to energetically protest the premature timing of the elections.

The party chairman once again stressed, in the terse manner required by the interview form, a series of provisions of the electoral constitutional law that are seriously hampering the functioning of the future parliament both in its own duties and as a constitutional assembly. With a constitutionally unacceptable anticipation, the republic was decreed as the country's form of government, "displacing the will of the Romanian people," who were expected to decide by referendum whether they wanted a republic or a monarchy.

In the midst of the electoral campaign, as the provisional power in the state, the NSF once again showed a political immaturity reminiscent of that of 12-13 January 1990, by first supporting King Michael's controversial visit, then cancelling it in conditions that stirred a strong domestic and foreign reaction. In reality, the former monarch enjoys undisputable respect both in the country and abroad, as a decisive factor in the historic act of 23 August 1944 when, by removing Antonescu's dictatorship, the country pulled out of the war against the allies and turned against the Hitlerite forces, thus saving the existence of the state in its present boundries. For his courage and devotion to the noble cause of humanity, he was awarded the highest distinctions by the great powers and other countries (he did not confer them on himself!), abdicated with dignity under the threat of armed communism, and lived a dignified life in exile. He is a personality who does not deserve to be treated like a terrorist. The important political issues that affect the prestige of a country and a government must be considered with great political skill, not with the improvisations of a politically underdeveloped state, with a mixture of cheap Machiavelism and dilettantism, and with the mythological perversity of destroying at night what was built during the day. The differences between self-appointed leaders and freely elected leaders is the same as between the weakness of totalitarianism and the strength of democracy. Before discussing the restoration of the monarchy—which is a matter for the future and a rather utopic alternative—we must study the pages of real history, not those of Marxism. And if history is either unknown or ignored, then above and beyond personalities there are the human rights and the right of a citizen to return to his own country—temporarily or for good. However many predictible attempts at mass media disinformation will be staged and however many anti-monarchy fabricated meetings will be held, will not suffice to redress the irreparable.

On the eve of the important day of 20 May we believe it necessary to explain to the electorate that there is going to be a dual balotting of a very special nature. One consists of the voter's participation in the future parliamentary legislation through his elected representatives, deputies, and senators, who will then make decisions for him. The other consists of the voter directly electing—through a vote similar to a plebiscite—the provisional president of the country (provisional until the Constitution is issued) from among several candidates. The difference is that the president is not elected by parliament, through representation, but directly by the voters.

According to the current electoral law, this direct ballot is subject to two conditions. The first is the "initiative" conferred to political parties, groups, and independent candidates. The second is to have at least 100,000 supporters, which means that originally the initiative belongs to them, being channeled and expressed through parties, political groups, and independent candidates. The number of supporters is rather large, and the reason given for it—to eliminate not serious or frivolous candidacies—is not justified by such a quota, because it places a burden on valuable people while favoring strong parties and groups. The similarity with plebiscites and referendums, compared to countries that practice them more frequently (Switzerland, over 250 since 1990 [as published], Denmark, Italy, Greece, France, and the United States) is that it requires an initial support of five to eight percent. In many countries the referendum is an innovative form of direct participation in legislation, but it is also subjected to a rather complex procedure.

Another topical problem concerning direct legislative participation concerns the amendment of Article 10 of the electoral law by the adoption of Article 8 of the Proclamation of Timisoara, which states that former Romanian Communist Party activists and securitate members may not be candidates for parliament or the presidency. This initiative seems to have rallied hundreds of thousands of supporters.

What will be the fate of this initiative?

The author of the electoral law is the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], and it is the body capable of amending it. The initiative must be adopted by the executive bureau and by one or several parties. The NSF's voting machine in mini-parliament would not go wrong this time, either, in achieving the majority to reject it. On the other hand, the registration of candidates closed on 19 April, so the initiative can no longer be implemented because of the delay element. The only possibility would have been to have used it in time, before the candidacies were registered, and if the elections had been postponed for this purpose.

The only alternative left now is for the signatories of the amendment initiative—which make up an important mass of voters—faithful to Article 8 of the Proclamation to be very, very careful whom they elect. What we need is information, selection, and consistency!

* 'Crypto-Communism' Within NSF Condemned

90BA0062B Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 21 Apr 90 p 2

[Gabriel Topliceanu article: "Crypto-Communism: Public Enemy No. 1"]

[Text] Among those on top of the list of the National Salvation Front [NSF], Mr. Iliescu seems to me to be the most dangerous because of his instability and his versatility. His image on television very quickly made me change my initially good opinion of him. On the afternoon of 22 December, he seemed to be one of us, but on 23 December the word was that Comrade Iliescu had asked for help from the Soviet Army. If it was he, why did he do it? Did he not trust our Army and was he afraid that Ceausescu would win, or did he want Soviet occupation troops as a guarantee for the communist future of the country? Wasn't the Romanian Army the one who opposed that request? Weren't the Soviets the ones who hesitated, seeking to avoid interfering in our internal affairs? If I am wrong, and it was not he who invited the Soviet Army on the 23d December, I want to ask Comrade Iliescu to make some clarifications along this line.

On 12 January Comrade Iliescu issued the famous decrees outlawing the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and revoking the cancellation of the death sentence, which he had done a few days earlier. He had read the decrees himself, from the balcony, only to rescind them the next day. In any country in the world in which politicians have some dignity and responsibility, his political career would have been finished.

Then came the 25 January meeting (revealed only recently), at which a counterdemonstration was planned in a most communist manner, since the opposition had organized one. The opposition did hold a beautiful and civilized demonstration of about 200,000 people on 26 January, against the NSF, which was disrupted toward the end by comrades—securitate members and others—hastily summoned to demonstrate in favor of the NSF. On 29 January, pro-NSF demonstrations in Bucharest and elsewhere in the country degenerated into real riots, with looting, fighting, even killings; opposition headquarters were destroyed, people were attacked, in short, all the forms of communist "democracy" were used. All at the order and instigation of Comrades Iliescu, Roman, and Brucan, who were blithely delivering sleep-inducing speeches.

Other poorly directed staged incidents followed: the attack on the NSF Council building (when it was entirely deserted, except for Gelu Voican, armed to the teeth) by a gang of professional provocateurs or common ciminals, designed to justify an intervention by the miners, complete with declarations of love and attachment for the NSF and Comrade Iliescu personally.

However, under internal and foreign pressure, the NSF comrades adopted more democratic attitudes, or, to be more precise, began to act more prudently and in a more civilized manner within the newly created civic framework, but not omitting to maintain their control of and an overwhelming majority in all the public sectors. Overtly their behavior was democratic, while behind the scenes they took care of the interests of the impostors from the RCP nomenklatura. Thus, on 6 March 1990, on the 45th anniversary of the installation of the odious government of Petru Groza, a traitor to his people and country, his statue was removed from Bucharest; however, on the same day, under Order No. 7321 issued by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, Ion Iliescu,

the party activist, showed his concern for the graduates of the former Stefan Gheorghiu Academy of social and political studies. In accordance with decrees and laws issued in 1978, 1974, and 1989 and on the basis of their diplomas from the above academy, the comrade activists were permitted to remain in their positions, provided they had occupied them for at least five years! While the others could be confirmed upon request!

More recently, during the unrest in Satu Mare, Tirgu Mures, and elsewhere in Transylvania, although he had been earlier warned by the National Peasant Party [NPP], Comrade Iliescu ignored everything; later, when tragic events occurred, he came out with exactly the same conclusions as the NPP, but ineptly and probably out of a bad habit, he ended up blaming the NPP! Many believe that these nationalist outbreaks are in fact the work of the securitate, too, that is to say, of Comrade Iliescu's shadowy friends. Personally, I believe that as far as he is concerned, it is only a matter of incompetence, but a criminal incompetence, in view of the casualties and fatalities it caused.

But it seems that each administrative defeat is a reason to rejoice for Comrade Iliescu, because there he was, celebrating the anniversary of 100 days of the revolution (the people's great revolution, at which the NSF comrades did not do more than the fly at plowing time). He even played a starring role, showing great Thespian talents. He, who only 10 days ago was telling us on television that he was a Communist, belonging to a family of illegal RCP fighters, raised in a revolutionary spirit, having then become secretary of the RCP Central Committee, first secretary of the Iasi and Timisoara County party committees (where he is most hated!), and candidate member of the Central Committee Political Bureau, was seen on television attending an Orthodox service and making the sign of the cross! Simple people may tend to think of him as a Christian. I now want to ask Mr. Iliescu whether or not he believes in God? Or is he a genuine atheist, as was required by his Communist positions? If he didn't do that out of faith, then he did it only for the sake of the electoral campaign. Undoubtedly, hypocrisy is the homage that vice pays to virtue. But to me, political chameleonism seems very damnable. That is why I faithfully pray to God to help the man who now calls himself president of the country, although the country did not elect him, to the extent that he believes in God and to the extent that he wants and is capable of promoting the interests of our people, rather than of the party activists and securitate members.

* Skepticism Over Possibility of Free Elections

90BA0062F Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 12 Apr 90 pp 1, 4

[Ilie Paunescu article: "Monitoring Free Elections"]

[Text] At a news conference day before yesterday, Mr. Ion Iliescu once again spoke about having the 20 May elections monitored by one or several foreign bodies.

In January the government's press claimed already that the United Nations would refuse to assume any responsibility of this kind. Mr. Ion Iliescu confirmed that. According to Reuter, he stated that the United Nations does not wish to monitor the elections, but may send observers. The government also invited observers from the European Council and several European parliaments.

We hope that Mr. Ion Iliescu will not once again discover—too late—God knows what technical impediments to implementing the government's decision. In other words, we would like to believe that the invitations were not once again sent after the date of expiration of who knows what regulation, that there will be a sufficient number of observers, and that their duties will not be confined within too narrow or downright unacceptable limitations.

As far as it is concerned, the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP] has asked the Helsinki Committee, former U.S. President Carter, and various political internationals—socialist, Christian-democratic, agrarian, and liberal—to provide monitoring of our elections. During his visits in February to France, Switzerland, and Italy, NPCDP Chairman Mr. Corneliu Coposu was assured by several statesmen that they will dispatch observers or will personally come to Romania for the purpose. Mr. Coposu also invited as many journalists as possible. Their presence is viewed as decisive and, from the replies received, we can count on several thousand foreign press correspondents.

However, free elections are not ensured only on election day. The government could not prove its good intentions more convincingly than by taking measures to curb blows below the belt, brutal attacks, and assassinations of members of our parties during the electoral campaign.

Examples of democratic freedoms restricted in Bucharest and choked in the provinces abound. We will list them in short, in the hope that the president of the interim parliament will at least take note of them now.

In Bacau, two persons were assassinated for promoting the NPCDP. In many other places in the country our headquarters have been repeatedly laid waste, in some localities five or six times. Death threats to NPCDP members have become routine. In many villages we cannot get past gangs especially organized to prevent our contact with the population. Recently, a group of French deputies, who wanted to visit an agricultural center in the company of a few of our friends, miraculously escaped being attacked by National Salvation Front [NSF] men. In the great majority of enterprises and communes, NSF organizations watch and intimidate the employees and residents to protect them from falling into the temptation of getting in touch with our party. The situation went so far that in several localities children were forced to bring to school their parents' identity cards so that they could be registered in the NSF. In many places the police have become bodies of the NSF.

Support for the NSF is the primary condition for peasants to secure the modest plots of land granted by Mr. Iliescu's decree.

We are practically barred from propaganda on radio and television. One may say that all we are entitled to is disparagement in the press and on television.

Every possible means is used to impede the circulation of our newspaper. DREPTATEA is stashed away and not distributed. Censorship is no longer carried out in the brutal but naive style of the former Communist leaders. Our newspaper does not need to be suspended to be prevented from reaching the readers.

As for television, we have grown weary of complaining. The editors of the most numerous and prime time broadcasts are relentless propagandists against our party. Evening after evening we are subjected to the most unexpected and often the crassest attacks, insinuations, and libel. Romanian television, which stepped into the post-Ceausescu era swearing that it will never again lie, is dominated by a handful of moral cripples irremediably perverted by Communist vices.

Mr. Ion Iliescu should personally supervise, consistently and strictly, the compliance with civic freedoms during the electoral campaign. There is danger that foreign observers will note such serious violations that the elections will be voided.

* Failure To Officially Dissolve RCP Condemned

90BA0062E Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 21 Apr 90 p 1

[Simion Alexandru article: "A Skillful Maneuver—Why Was the Romanian Communist Party Not Officially Dissolved?"]

[Text] We agree that outlawing the party may, in the final analysis, have turned out to be a hasty measure, although the argument cited when the issue was discussed—that it would be an infringement on democracy and freedom—was not in the least valid. Was it not for the sake of defending democracy and freedom that we banned extreme right political movements? And did the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] (I am referring to the party as an institution and to the nomenklatura that led it) not reveal itself as more dangerous, more harmful, and more hostile to freedom and democracy than any right wing movement? Were the crimes it committed for 45 years not enough to prove that the RCP was an extreme left party? Did the fact that it chose to be led by criminal, extremist elements, as Nicolae Ceausescu turned out to have been from his youth, not enough to reveal it as an extremist party?

We think that all that was proven more than sufficiently.

So why this reticence? Or is it that we view the extreme left as less dangerous than the extreme right? Have they not both been equally guilty of horrible crimes against their own peoples and against humanity? Yes, they have. Consequently, we believe that the argument about the so-called infringement on freedom by outlawing the RCP is not valid and does not stand up to serious analysis, although at the time it was also accepted by the leaders of certain historical parties.

So why was this party, totally compromised in Romania's history, not outlawed?

The problem is complex and the solution—or rather, the non-solution—found is very subtle. Let us examine it.

If the RCP continued to exist, it would have been acting in broad daylight, in which case the former comrades from its leadership would have had to be "active" and possibly to run in the elections for their own party. Evidently, they would have stood no chance with the electorate.

By leaving the issue of the existence of the RCP unresolved, the National Salvation Front [NSF] rallied around it several categories of people: first of all, the entire nomenklatura of the former party, which legitimately views the Front as its only chance of survival; secondly, certain former RCP members whom the Front is trying to persuade that the historical parties, if they should come to power, would proceed to investigate them; and thirdly, a number of people who, having obtained advantageous positions after the revolution, mistake these advantages or positions with presents from the Front, ignoring or forgetting the fact that they are the gains of the revolution, and that the revolution was not made by the Front, but by the people and the Army. To the categories listed here we have to add the less numerous, but electorally important strata of public employees and intellectuals who, because of their positions, always prefer to be on the side of the strongest.

Thus, the Front, the real heir of the RCP, has maneuvered itself into a far more advantageous position for the elections by allowing its party to remain in existence, than it would have had it dissolved it.

Mr. Iliescu, as a former member of the top RCP leadership, could have proposed any of those alternatives. He nevertheless chose the third, the easiest, simplest, and at the same time, the most advantageous, because it ensured the continuity of the RCP and its nomenklatura under a new form.

This also explains the refusal to resolutely dismantle the former Carpati Trust—tucked away somewhere within the Ministry of National Economy—the refusal to discuss a revision of the pensions of former high-ranking RCP activists (7,000-8,000 lei on the average, which is twice as high as that of a good physician, engineer, or university professor), and the refusal to publish the names of informers in enterprises and institutions (who will naturally vote for the NSF), and many others.

On 12-13 January someone said that the RCP did not need to be banned or dissolved, because it had ceased to exist on its own.

No, Romanian gentlemen and brothers! The RCP continues to exist and is now, like throughout its existence, the most dangerous enemy of the Romanian people. With this election, the people have a historic chance to be rid of this enemy, which had been on the verge of bringing them to extermination.

'Bankrupt Marxist Ideology' Seen Persisting

AU0305092090 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 21 Apr 90 p 3

[Eugen Radulescu article: "How Much Longer?"]

[Excerpts] The political side of communist ideology is more and more obviously showing signs of giving up the ghost under the "burst" of diversity of opinion expressed by a diversity of parties. "The Communist Party governs in a totalitarian way or does not govern at all" is the statement of a classic writer who stirs sad remembrances, and it seems that we have come to see with our own eyes that the... second alternative is also true.

What about the economic side of the same ideology? In this area things are much more... pronounced. There are parties proposing gradual privatization and free private initiative throughout the economy. However, there are others—headed by the National Salvation Front, which, we should not forget, rules the country!—that want to direct us toward perestroyka, even if they do not admit it. The time has come for the public to know clearly and unequivocally: 1) reformed or not, socialism—as an economic doctrine—is as bankrupt as the political side of this ideology; 2) what the government of Mr. Petre Roman proposes is nothing but a new kind of... reform of socialism. We argue as follows:

No socialist economy has ever succeeded in doing anything but inequitably apportioning...poverty. An abundance of goods—this is a notion that is unknown in Eastern Europe. All that the socialist economies have been able to show for themselves so far is a... planned disaster. Life is much too complex and dynamic to fit into a plan, no matter how well thought out it may be. It seems that in various countries in the world the Marxist-Leninists have come to realize this truth and are now trying to make use of market economy mechanisms in the socialist economy. [passage omitted on theoretical aspects of market economy]

We have been promised that in the future a strong state sector will be maintained in industry. Then what is changing? Small private enterprises will emerge. Only, they will receive their supplies on the basis of allotments (also approved by presidential decree?) and thus they will be obliged to dance to the "tune" played by the one who has both the bread and the salt in his hands. Genuine perestroyka!

The question arises: Why—after a revolution—should we stop here? Is it not in order to preserve the interests of all small dictators in enterprises, central departments, and ministries who are used to holding well-paid positions for too little work? By no means! "In order to be able to guarantee people's social needs"—the prime minister explains. It sounds nice. Is it also true? In order to guarantee people's needs, state ownership in industry is not needed; what is needed are material and financial resources that the state may redistribute. But state administration has proved inefficient and incapable of producing even for industry's own consumption, let alone of achieving a surplus to meet social needs. And this actually proves that the bankrupt Marxist ideology persists in the thinking of those leading Romania's economy. How much longer?

Ratiu's Wife Attacked by Hospital Patients

AU0205202790

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1900 GMT on 2 May carries a three-minute long "communique of the press bureau of Mr. Ion Ratiu," presidential candidate, on behalf of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP], announcing that "today, while paying a visit to the Dr. George Marinescu Neuro-Psychiatric Hospital, Mrs. Elisabeta Ratiu was subjected to an attack." Emphasizing that this visit was of a "purely humanitarian nature" and "devoid of any political character," the communique points out that at the end of the visit, "the two cars carrying Mrs. Ratiu and her retinue were attacked with stones and pieces of wood by a group of some 30 patients, led and incited by a medical nurse." The communique further notes that "although the car windows were broken, fortunately nobody was hurt." It stresses that "this physical aggression is a continuation of the systematic and carefully organized campaign of violence and aggression waged against anyone whom the current government and the National Salvation Front consider undesirable" and asks "whether there is a plan to exterminate the Ratiu family."

This item is followed by a two-minute long "communique of the Bucharest Municipality Police Inspectorate," which confirms that the attackers were "20-30 neuropsychic patients of the hospital" and points out that "neither the hospital management nor the police were informed of the visit in advance."

Paper Rejects NPCDP Rally Figures

AU0305070190 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 25 Apr 90 p 2

[C. Vulcan article: "With the Kite in the Square"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] At the 1 April rally organized by the National Salvation Front [NSF] in Bucharest's Aviators' Square, the number of participants was said to be 15,000. Three weeks later [on 22 April], I went to another electoral rally in the same square, this time

organized by the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP]. [passage omitted] The big surprise came later in the evening, when I watched the television reportage on the rally (a product of the rally's organizers), which claimed that more than 100,000 people participated in the rally. This figure was also mentioned by yesterday's DREPTATEA issue. Were there indeed so many people in the square? [passage omitted]

A simple calculation shows that it would only have been possible for 100,000 people to gather in the square, provided that 3-4 people, packed into each other, had occupied each square meter of the area. However, everybody could see that this was not the case—suffice it to mention the TV-supplied image of a citizen running freely in the square trying to raise his kite." [passage omitted]

Daily Ridicules NPCDP's DREPTATEA

AU0305092790 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 22 Apr 90 p 5

[Doina Rodina Hanu article: "Convincing Inconsistency"]

[Excerpts] The daily DREPTATEA is deteriorating rapidly. What used to pass as substance proves to have been only the reader's shock at meeting again with the mentality of SAPTAMINA [THE WEEK] magazine and with the forgotten perfume of Iron-Guardist and Stalinist publications. In an inexplicable way, the mentality of which the National Salvation Front [NSF] is accused finds its cozy shelter in the pages of the daily of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP] DREPTATEA, which is characterized by aggressiveness, stiffness, demagoguery, and evasiveness when it comes to truly hot issues. The daily stubbornly sticks to several (few) ideas, which it anemically tries to demonstrate; namely that Iliescu equals Ceausescu and NSF equals the nomenklatura. The tone of the articles varies from the pathetic to the funestly prophetic, and from a dubious kind of cheap humor to invectives. [passage omitted]

However, according to the daily's masthead, the great scare is still (neo)communism, identified with the NSF. It is true that we could not find anywhere in that daily the NSF platform-program points which state that the NSF is for a "complete break with the totalitarian political, economic, and social system, which has led the dictatorial system in recent decades" and for "the elimination of this ideology from our society." After all, why should DREPTATEA make propaganda for the NSF! Recognition of the fact that the NSF has clearly repudiated communism would simply push DREPTATEA into unemployment. [passage omitted]

NPCDP Promises 'Full Equality' to Women

AU0305092890 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 22 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Election Emblem of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party Is an Eye"]

[Text] **Women!**

Mothers and daughters of young and eternal Romania!

You are the beauty and sensibility of the Romanian soil!

The time of freedom and dignity has come for you, too. The suffering you were subjected to during the Communist dictatorship is unequalled. Among all Romanian citizens, you bore the brunt of the burden. The whole nation is grateful for your heroism and bestows on you the appreciation and love you so well deserve.

Paying homage to the Romanian woman, **National Peasant** (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP] wants to lend her dignity and ensure her traditional condition.

The NPCDP believes that the family and the home are the essential social and cultural element of the present-day and future Romanian society.

The economic and social programs of the **NPCDP** ensure full equality between women and men and pay particular attention to protecting the mother and child, and to the work and creativity of women.

Voting for the NPCDP, you will vote for the dignity of the daughters of eternal Romania!

Urges Youth to Join Anticommunist Fight

AU0305092890 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 25 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Election Emblem of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party Is an Eye"]

[Text] **Youth!**

Valiant heroes of the anti-Ceausescu and anticommunist revolution

You are the liberators of the Romanian soil from communism!

Your thoughts and lives are flawless and this—you should not forget—is your undeniable argument in building our homeland's future!

Be courageous, dignified, and prove power of work and intelligence, as well as an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and learning!

The National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP] calls upon you to continue these traditions under the flag it carried through a glorious Romanian

national history, and to return Romania to Europe and to the ranks of the great civilized nations!

In its programs, the **NPCDP** proposes to involve youth in the work of national restoration and in social and professional promotion on the basis of professional ability and intellectual and moral values.

All activities of the **NPCDP**, the consistent and intransigent promoter of democracy, prosperity, and dignity, are organically linked to the work, life, and aspirations of youth.

Young heroes of the **Romanian revolution!**

Be at the side of the **NPCDP**, the fighter for more than half a century against the greatest calamity on Romanian soil—communism!

Vote for the NPCDP—the party of the struggle against communism!

* Data on 'Liberty' Workers Alliance

90BA0062A Bucharest ROMANIA MUNCITOARE in Romanian 18 Apr 90 pp 1, 3

[Marian Niculescu report on the "Liberty" Workers Alliance]

[Text] The "Liberty" Workers Alliance [LWA], a political movement with a compensatory statute, is intentionally gravitating around the center political movement and is consistently in opposition to any majority totalitarian political movement, regardless of whether it is right or left wing. This political pendulum system was adopted by our movement because of the urgent need to counterbalance the totalitarian political groups that exist or will emerge on the broad spectrum of our political arena.

The present period of transition, when the country's leadership is in the hands of old Communist officials fired by the Ceausescu regime, has not been sufficient to prepare the country for a genuine democracy in which truly free elections can be held.

For that reason, the LWA has decided to support the independent candidates whose political platform shows them as being on the same side of the barricade as itself.

The LWA believes that, after the period of dictatorship, when the people—including the three million party members—suffered under the yoke of a tyranny of stupidity and incompetence, there is no need to return to the "capitalist values," and that we have the right and sacred duty, in the name of those who sacrificed their lives, to make a huge step forward toward a post-capitalist and post-communist society in which equality should not be achieved by lopping off the tops, but by successive attempts to raise the lower levels to the superior living standard of the top of the pyramid.

These economic and political concepts have been formulated by our ideologue Augustin Zbora who, despite the dirty attacks staged by certain "journalists" who sold in the past and continue to sell their consciences, has not stopped struggling at our side, without ever demanding special advantages or positions from the rest of us. The public must realize that in the period between our constitutional meeting and the legalization of our group on 22 February, Mr. Augustin Zbora put his personal bank account, with 55,000 lei in it, at the disposal of the Alliance.

Having become united during the battles of bloody December, we, the industrial and agricultural workers and the intellectuals of Romania who are fighting totalitarianism, decided to form an alliance to be able to struggle with greater strength and coordination for the real wellbeing of the country, through truth, freedom, and democracy.

We assume the obligation of serving as the people's dais, through which the people can demand to no longer be lied to and be dragged through the labyrinth of political demagoguery to abuses of power, bureaucracy, political arrivism, and social corruption.

We will permanently monitor and debunk all the individuals, parties, or organizations whose political platforms include totalitarian communist or fascist elements.

We will struggle for full compliance with the Universal Human Rights Declaration and for the adoption of a Universal Declaration on the Relationship Between Man and Nature.

We hope to see the achievement of a united Europe as a first step toward a united mankind, at peace with nature.

The Alliance has introduced the new concept of a compensatory economic legislation, designed to eliminate both the financial effects of unemployment, and especially its psychological effects.

The Alliance proposes a new type of affirmative political and diplomatic relations based on the premises of what is logical and possible, and rendering the use of the 'no' formula impossible.

We support the adoption of a new type of legislation, capable of ensuring a civilized life for all members of society, but without attempting to achieve social equalization.

The rural population are the lawful owners of the land and the only ones entitled to decide on forms of association, land utilization, and produce marketing.

We call for protecting mothers, children, and handicapped and old people, and we will struggle for securing special living conditions for those social categories.

We intend to promote an affirmative policy toward all our brothers: Aromanians, Bulgarians, Jews, Germans,

Hungarians, Gypsies, Serbians, Tatars, Turks, and other nationalities who live in our country.

* Views of Party of Democratic Unity

90BA0062D Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 20 Apr 90 p 2

["Excerpts" of "Proclamation" carried in the weekly publication of the Party of Democratic Unity, MESAGER, Issue No. 6]

[Text] The idea that the National Salvation Front Council [NSFC] emerged as an emanation of the Romanian Revolution of December 1989 is false. The leadership of that council, like the leadership of the provisional government, was assumed by persons unknown to the fighters on the barricades, but well known to the Communist nomenklatura.

This precious conceit of the NSFC of viewing this body as a direct outgrowth of the revolution and its ideals, was contradicted by those leaders themselves, by the "comradely" manner in which they wield state power, and especially by the stunning decision of the NSFC to participate in the elections, after several declarations had emphasized its provisional, transitional nature. That decision, which was beginning to betray the true intentions of the leaders of that body, prompted many outstanding figures of the anti-Ceausescu resistance to resign, while the political parties and the broad masses of thinking people, beginning with the mass of participants in the revolution, began to be stirred by growing suspicion, mistrust, and tension, which culminated in the dramatic events of 12 January, 28-29 January, and 18 February, events which were triggered by contradictory decisions, the organization of counterdemonstrations, and serious provocations staged by some of the NSFC leaders.

One of the dangerous policies adopted by the NSFC and the government to ensure their domination in every sector is the policy of fostering discord and hostility among various categories of people. The fact that this particular weapon, old as the hills, was pulled out of the arsenal of dictatorial regimes is all the more unfortunate as it has made itself fully felt within an extremely short period of time since the most wonderful example of unity among all the honest people of this country, and it is being wielded, paradoxically, in the name of the ideals of a democratic revolution.

This policy of discord, cultivated with incredible efficiency in such a short time, has virulently manifested itself in many areas: between workers and intellectuals, among various categories of workers, among peasants with different interests in the implementation of an ambiguous decree, within the Army, and between the young and older generations, culminating in violent clashes between Romanians and Hungarians in our beloved Transylvania, precisely on the eve of the electoral campaign.

Along the same line we must point out a few other serious diversionist actions aimed at fostering strife in recent weeks: disparaging former political prisoners, disparaging Romanians abroad, and directly disparaging any popular criticism of situations for which the true power wielders "emanated" from the revolution are responsible. It is obvious that the NSF leaders, guided by graduates of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy with lengthy experience as RCP [Romanian Communist Party] activists, are implementing the sinister slogan "whoever is not with us is against us, which means, against the people!..." We all know how many tens of thousands of lives were destroyed by this famous motto.

The December revolution gave the Romanian people a chance to regain their dignity and won the admiration of the entire world, even more so since it was the only violent confrontation with the repressive forces of a dictatorship, which clearly declared a complete break from communism and the transition to real democracy.

The first days after the revolution testified to the enormous interest felt for Romania in the wake of the sacrifice of our heroes, which was concretely expressed through numerous international contacts at a high level.

The obvious tendency of the president and the provisional government of slipping toward neocommunism on the one hand, and the fact that members of the former nomenklatura and securitate remained in key positions in foreign affairs and foreign trade areas on the other, are responsible for the fact that we had extremely limited activities abroad in comparison with other Eastern countries during the same period (see, for example, Czechoslovakia), and prompted the developed countries of the world to show reservations toward us. Most significantly, we were not granted the most-favored-nation clause by the United States, and a completely false impression was created among Western circles concerning the situation in Transylvania, fostered by the combination of aggressive Hungarian diplomacy coupled with the inertia or ineptitude of our own diplomatic efforts.

Romania, whose importance was minimized by the mistakes and selfishness of a Europe set afire 50 years ago, has its specific place in this part of the world, won by 2,000 years of struggle and 2,000 years of civilization. We don't need to knock on doors, because we already are inside. However, to do honor to this position and build a real democracy, based on freedom, we must change from the foundation both the domestic structures of the economy, and the structures of our foreign policy.

We must remember the political position Romania held in Europe before the cataclysm unleashed by countries which today call the rules in Europe, and must remind those countries of the enormous sacrifices imposed on the Romanian people against their aspirations and natural tendency for peace and freedom.

However, we must be aware of the fact that the real responsibility for regaining our position in Europe and

throughout the world will fall on the future bodies of power that we will elect on 20 May.

[signed] 1. The Party of Democratic Unity: Nicu Stancescu, Lucian Cipere, Mircea Barbulescu, Dan Tarchila, Anca Galasiu, Gheorghe Gradinescu, Paul Cornel Chitic
2. The Socialist Liberal Party: Nicolae Cerveni, Petre Dragomir, Dimitrie Calimachi
3. The Romanian Democratic Party: Andrei Grosu
4. The "Fraternity" Political Trade Union of Timisoara: Traian Florea, Botica Radulescu
5. The Free Democratic Party: Nica Leon
6. The Free Romanian Television: Ion Filipoiu
7. Vatra Romaneasca [the Romanian Hearth], Bucharest branch: Sabin Fagarasanu, Petre Stanculescu, Tudor Pacurariu, Valentin Borda.

Steps To Ensure Fairness to Foreign Investors

AU0305100890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0840 GMT 3 May 90

["Economy: Actions Promoting Capital Investment"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/5/1990—The International Economic Department in the Ministry of Finance has initiated several actions for the conclusion of new government agreements on the promotion and mutual guaranteeing of capital investment for the ensurance of long-term stable and mutually advantageous relations.

Under such government agreements which stipulate mutual application of the most-favoured-nation clause in the sphere of investment, Romania undertakes to guarantee equal, just and equitable treatment to all foreign investors, transfer of the profits obtained, of the capital invested and the products resulted from the liquidation of investment, as well as compensation for the losses derived from investment in case of expropriation or other special events.

Following the actions taken recently certain progress has been made. So, negotiations were finalized with the state of Kuwait and a first round of talks was held with Turkey, prerequisites being provided for the conclusion of an accord at the next meeting. Negotiations are also to be held with the United States of America, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland. Steps have been taken for the conclusion of similar agreements with Japan, South Korea, Finland and other states.

Such agreements which add to other similar documents Romania has signed so far with 24 states, most of them with a highly economic potential like France, Great Britain, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, Denmark, Austria, are apt to help boost Romania's economic cooperation with other states and stimulate the participation of foreign capital investment in Romania.

Privatization Secretariat Set Up in Ministry

AU0305081690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0645 GMT 3 May 90

["Economy: Coordinates of Privatization"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/5/1990—The State Secretariat for Privatization has recently been set up within the Ministry of National Economy. The major mission of this new body is legislative and of coordination, State Secretary Adrian Severin said.

Privatization should not be seen as a magic solution to all the problems facing the Romanian economy, he added. It is only a means which will provide, together with other means, for the transition to the market economy and a way out of the systemic crisis inherited from the former regime.

The privatization strategy will have to be set on several major coordinates, Mr. Adrian Severin said. There are favourable conditions to create new economic entities, of a private character, in the small industry and services, just as joint ventures with foreign capital (up to 100 percent), domains in which the newly created normative framework stimulates free initiative. Such an aspect is the revitalization of the joint ventures set up in Romania with Romanian and foreign capital.

The organization of the public sector and its preparation for the transition to privatization raise the delicate problem of evaluating the patrimony of the existing enterprises, which is to be divided into social shares.

Another highly important aspect that this state secretariat pursues is the transition of economic units from the state to the private sector, which requires measures of a legislative, organizational, financial and other nature.

Government Meeting Examines Economic Tasks

AU0205180790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1740 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/5/1990—Gathered on 2 May, the Executive Bureau of the Romanian Government examined questions related to the activity carried out in April in the economy, to the dynamization of the process of privatization and the way in which the tasks set by the government for a proper course of the election campaign are being carried through.

Debates on Market Economy Viewed

AU0305081090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0647 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/5/1990—The debates on the introduction of the market economy still maintain at the level of ideas and suggestions regarding the way action should be taken in the near future. The proposals nevertheless advanced are grounded on wishes and not

on realistic technical-economic analyses, opines Eugen Topala, D. Econ., in an article in "TRIBUNA ECONOMICA." At least two premises must underlie the introduction of the market economy: The transition to the market economy should not be a purpose in itself but a means of raising efficiency in using the production factors and the civilization standard of all inhabitants; the economic activity should be organized so as to serve the general interest through the private interest. These measures should in no way have an experimental character, as assessments are sometimes made, since any experiment takes much time, is costly and usually does not yield the expected results. Moreover it has hardly foreseeable indirect social and moral effects. Home economic experiments can be adjusted with difficulty, while those in the field of foreign relations can no longer be mended.

In conclusion, in this transition stage there is no time for economic experiments. The state and cooperative-private sectors must coexist and support one another to attain the objectives set by the country's political leadership, concomitantly with the consolidation of the private sector. Likewise, the economic experience of other countries is useful, but not always efficient in Romania's case, a reason for which it should be considered prudently, at both the macroeconomic level and the level of enterprises, more particularly at that of cooperative and private units, opines Eugen Topala.

Management Department in Labor Ministry Set Up

AU2704173290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1515 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/4/1990—A management department was set up within the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. In an interview with a ROMPRES editor, Mr. C. Hidos, d. Eng. [Phd in English], secretary of state at the above-mentioned ministry, specified that the department functions with two centres: One for the improvement of the personnel and management consulting, and another for the improvement of staff in management informatics.

Its activities include consulting and enterprise, central department and ministry management for finding solutions of appropriately organizing economic restructuring and the passage to a market economy, lectures and seminars to improve the management of small enterprises and stimulate private initiative, management consulting and brush-up courses on management in state administrative units, a.o.

Ministry , Other Officials' Titles Changed

AU2704134790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] On the basis of a Romanian Government decision, in ministries and the other central bodies of the state administration the position of general secretary has been instituted to replace the position of state secretary. In the leadership hierarchy, the position of general secretary follows the position of deputy minister.

New Romanian Roman Catholic Head Ordained

AU2904174190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1454 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/4/1990—Sumuleu-Ciuc, a settlement in the vicinity of Miercurea-Ciuc Municipality, Harghita County, is known as one of the first Transylvanian localities where a rich religious culture appeared and developed. That space, dominated by Sumuleu Cathedral and Monastery, hosted on Sunday a ceremony of special significance for the Latin Rite believers—namely, the ceremony when the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church in Romania was entrusted to Bishop Lajos Balint by Mr. Antal Jakab who retired. Also there Mr. Gyorgy Jakubini was ordained as assistant bishop. The ceremony was attended by several thousands of believers and many chief prelates of the Romanian Orthodox Church and of the Roman Catholic Rite in Europe were also invited. The Holy Chair was represented by Archbishop Francesco Colasuno, envoy of Pope John Paul II.

Increased Scholarships for Students Announced

AU2704184790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1744 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/4/1990—The Romanian Government has approved a set of measures as concerns the granting of scholarships for pupils and students attending day courses. Thus, they will benefit of increased scholarships covering food allowance and boarding expenses, of free medical assistance and trips to rest and treatment camps.

The monthly income level of the pupils' parents or legal sustainers is raised from 4,700 to 5,000 lei.

As for students, the pay level of the parents or other legal sustainers is raised to 5,500 lei. The level is raised by 300 lei for each child enrolled in a learning unit and supported by his parents or any other legal sustainers, starting with the second child.

Additional funds worth some 125 million lei will be allotted from the budget to increase scholarships.

The budget of the Ministry of Education also includes the necessary funds for social assistance, sojourns in camps and trips.

Linkup With European Rail Systems Desired

AU0305101690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0815 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/5/1990—The Cooperation and International Relations Department in the Romanian Ministry of Transports has in view a series of actions aiming at making Romania's transport a modern

and efficient one in accordance with the current traffic and speed exigencies, Eng. Gheorghe Barbu, director in that department, stated, declaring further: In my opinion the most important action now is Romania's adhesion to the Trans-Europe Railway (TER) project taking into consideration its prospects. In a first stage (1990-1991) the Romanian group will elaborate the traffic forecasts and estimate the works necessary for the modernization and equipping of the international railways on Romania's territory so that they should meet the requirements of high-speed transport and intensive exploitation. The study will also refer to the international traffic namely the correlation between various transport systems to obtain a minimum transit time and best operativity. It is a study for the achievement of European performances in railway transport, representing a part of a wider study which also includes the road transport and the Trans-Europe Motorway (TEM). Romania's railway network will include the main ways 1, 3, 5 and 8 which are to be modernized and equipped with adequate installations. The project is partially financed by the U.N.D.P. within the UN European Economic Commission and that organization's Commission for Interior Transports. Actions of cooperation are in progress with all European countries within the International Union of Railways (UIC), the Railway Consultative Organization (OCCF) as well as with the neighbouring countries for transit and traffic relations. Cooperative actions were set with West German companies (Siemens, AEG, SEL-Alcatel) for the modernization of railway, transport signalling devices. Links were established with the railway administrations in France, Sweden and other European countries for exchanges of technical information so that Romanian railway transport be on a par with European standings as regards the travelers' comfort and the traffic technological processes.

Agricultural Delegation To Visit U.S.

AU2804183190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1629 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/4/1990—A Romanian governmental delegation, led by Mr. Victor Surdu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, president of the Agrarian Democratic Party, will pay a visit to the United States to lay the foundations of a close cooperation with that country in the field of agriculture.

Announcing the visit during the press conference held on Saturday, Mr. Surdu stressed that the visit of the Romanian delegation to the United States would include contacts with the Department of Agriculture, with firms and large producers, to materialize in a number of cooperation accords. We want to professionalize our agriculture, he said, to turn it into an agriculture which should meet home requirements and provide availabilities. And from this point of view the American agriculture is an example. The Romanian agriculture must become efficient, be set on the principles of the market economy, be properly equipped and seek the appropriate forms of property.

Mr. Surdu stressed that the forms of property would be those the people working in agriculture wish, the government only liberalizing the property and stimulating the farmers to produce more and more profitable. He showed in that context that more than three million hectares were distributed to the peasants after the revolution, which accounts for 33-to-40 per cent of the agricultural area, the remainder being still the property of the cooperative farms, in keeping with the people's wish. The state-run farms hold 21 per cent of the country's agricultural area and they are to further play an important role, that of buffer against inflation included.

Diplomatic Contacts With Israel Resume

LD0205153190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1258 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Jerusalem, 2 May (TANJUG)—After 22 years, Yugoslavia and Israel established direct diplomatic contacts today. Representing the Yugoslav Government, Milan Zupan, an ambassador in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Israel last night. He held meetings in Jerusalem today with Dr. Yosef Govrin, head of the Israeli Foreign Ministry's Section for Eastern Europe and the USSR; Ben-Elisar, chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee; and Deputy Foreign Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Two topics—bilateral relations and the Middle East situation—dominated all these meetings.

Those who took part in today's meetings stressed that the talks proceeded in a very frank atmosphere and that they were constructive and useful. Ambassador Zupan said it was too early to make an assessment of the impact of his visit because only the first round of the talks had been completed; the second will be held on 3 May. In addition, he stressed, the talks will be continued in Belgrade.

The people Zupan spoke with were less reserved in their comments. One of them alluded to the two sides' different approaches to the process of resuming diplomatic relations. However, after the first round of talks today everyone on the Israeli side stressed that the ultimate goal—resumption of diplomatic relations—is closer now than it was yesterday.

Yugoslavia broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in the wake of the six-day Israeli-Arab war in June 1967. For a long time, the two countries had virtually no political contacts. They reestablished them a few years ago, but it was in New York at UN Headquarters, where the diplomats of the two countries met. However, Ambassador Zupan is the first representative of the Yugoslav Government to pay an official visit to Israel during the past 22 years, which is a fact particularly stressed by Israeli political quarters today. It is clear that the Israelis are not satisfied with the pace of the normalization of relations between Israel and Yugoslavia.

Ambassador Zupan is due to met Shimon Peres, leader of the Labor Party, in Tel Aviv tonight, while his concluding talks with his host, Dr. Govrin, are scheduled for tomorrow afternoon.

U.S. Congress Draft Kosovo Resolution Decried

LD0205173390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1547 GMT 2 May 90

[By Dusan Zupan]

[Text] Washington, May 2 (TANJUG)—A draft resolution calling for further pressure on Yugoslavia and economic sanctions against the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, of which the Province of Kosovo is a part, has been submitted in U.S. Congress by the same group of congressmen who had only two days earlier organized a for them [as received] unsuccessful hearing on human rights in that Yugoslav province.

The draft resolution for the most part repeats what has already been said here against Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia, that is, it hardly says anything new. It completely ignores the fact that the state of emergency in the Province of Kosovo has completely been lifted, that political prisoners have been released and former Kosovo party leader Azem Vlasi acquitted of "political charges," as they have been qualified here.

The authors of the draft resolution have been very selective and have avoided mentioning anything that would undermine their support of the ethnic-Albanian separatists. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that the draft resolution has been built around the false allegation that the autonomous status of the Province of Kosovo was suspended by the Government of Serbia back in March 1989.

The draft resolution repeats the allegations that the governments of Yugoslavia and Serbia had ordered the police to shoot, kill and brutally treat, without any exception, all reportedly peaceful ethnic-Albanian demonstrators, arbitrarily to arrest workers and peasants and to silence ethnic-Albanian journalists and radio and television employees.

The same group of U.S. congressmen, who are obviously thinking of their voters and the financial backing they will be needing if they are to be re-elected, are without any shame and for who knows which time repeating the unfounded accusations against Yugoslavia and its Republic of Serbia.

The group of congressmen insist that the "problem" of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia is not limited to the Province of Kosovo but that it exists also in Yugoslavia's southern Republic of Macedonia, where they say the ethnic Albanians are also in a difficult position.

It appears that the only solution which would satisfy the respective group of U.S. congressmen would be to make Kosovo a republic, as ethnic-Albanian chauvinists and separatists demand. The complete blindness demonstrated by the group of U.S. congressmen ranks them among the enemies of Yugoslavia with whom it is absolutely hopeless to engage in any argumented discussions.

There is no doubt that the proposed economic sanctions against Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia can in no way contribute to good relations between the U.S. and Yugoslavia.

A share of the responsibility for the distinctly unobjective and hardly friendly activities in relation to Yugoslavia and its Republic of Serbia no doubt rests with the U.S. Administration.

The question which cannot be avoided is whether the activities of a small group of congressmen, some of

whom have exceptionally strong ties with the U.S. Administration, is in the ultimate interest of the U.S. and its relations with Yugoslavia and Serbia. As things stand now, the answer to that question cannot be but negative.

Council of Europe Chief on Developments

LD0205202490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1648 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Vienna, May 2 (TANJUG)—Good news has been arriving from Yugoslavia of late and there is hope that the future will show that that country is pursuing a good course in terms of democratic reforms and human rights, as Council of Europe Secretary-General Catherine Lalumiere said in a talk with journalists here today.

Lalumiere specified that good news has been arriving from the Yugoslav province of Kosovo and that the first free elections have been held in the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia, "although not in the largest republic (Serbia)."

Commenting Yugoslavia's application for membership in the Council of Europe, Lalumiere said that there was more Yugoslavia needed to do in the area of human rights and pluralism.

Asked whether Slovenia and Croatia could independently join the Council of Europe, Secretary-general Lalumiere said that it was the council's principle to negotiate with the legitimate governments of states and not regional governments.

Lalumiere, who today arrived on a two-day official visit to Austria, set out that good headway had been made in the opening of the Council of Europe to the East and offered in illustration the Council's cooperation with Hungary, Poland, the Soviet Union and also with Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic of recently.

The Council of Europe secretary-general expressed great concern over the developments in Romania and described the situation in that country as complex and uncertain.

Croatia Coalition of National Accord Statement

LD0205132590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0840 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 2 May (TANJUG)—Croatia needs both a democratically elected authority and a strong democratic opposition. Power in the hands of one party without a democratic opposition has never brought luck to anyone. This is said in a statement issued today from a two-day meeting of the Coalition of National Accord [KNS] joint committee held on 30 April and 1 May.

The KNS will enter the second round of voting with 23 candidates for the Sociopolitical Chamber and 29 for the Chamber of Associated Labor. These figures do not include candidates of the Croat Democratic Party [HDS] who will fight in the second round outside the KNS.

The KNS joint committee reviewed the campaign experiences of the first election round and noted a number of irregularites in election procedures, as well as an unfair attitude by other parties toward the coalition, the statement says.

At the same time, the KNS joint committee rejects offensive accusations and insinuations directed at its members and constituent parties by the leading personalities of the Croat Democratic community and the Croat Democratic Bloc [Hrvatski Demokratski Blok], which only serve to hamper the democratization process in Croatia in which the present elections are only one of the initial steps.

The joint committee members regret the HDS decision to leave the KNS after the first round of voting. It is all the more regrettable in view of the fact that over 500,000 people attended the Coalition's preelection meetings throughout Croatia. This was more beneficial than disadvantageous to the HDS candidates, the joint committee stresses in conclusion.

HDS Condemns Attempt To Discredit HDZ

LD0105155190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0832 GMT 1 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 1 May (TANJUG)—The Central Committee [CC] of the Croat Democratic Party [Hrvatska Demokratska Stranka, HDS] has met in Zagreb to discuss the current political situation in light of the first round of voting in the Croat elections from which the Croat Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica, HDZ] emerged as the most successful party. In the view of the HDS CC, the HDZ's electoral victory in the first free elections in postwar period is a clear reflection of "the legitimate will of the Croat people and all Croat citizens."

We congratulate the HDZ and welcome its victory as an expression of the Croat people's centuries-long aspirations toward a sovereign and democratic state.

At the same time, the HDS categorically rejects all attempts at discrediting the HDZ by attributing it with fascism and totalitarianism.

In our desire to become a constructive opposition, we will cooperate with the HDZ in the struggle for free and democratic Croatia. At the same time, we comdemn "all greater Serbian, unitarist and Bolshevist attacks on the HDZ and its leadership."

The HDS CC calls for an end to all squabbling and denounciations. We offer cooperation and actions between our two independent parties for the benefit of Croatia, the HDS CC statement stresses.

Breakdown of Final Croatian Election Results

AU0205155890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Apr, 1-2 May 90 p 11

[V. Djordjevic report: "Parties Run Last Lap"]

[Excerpts] Zagreb—The republican Electoral Commission published on 28 April the final results of the first round of the first postwar multiparty elections in Croatia. The first round has already ensured assembly seats to 131 delegates of the total of 356 seats in the new Croatian Assembly. As regards the parties, the Croatian Democratic Community won 104 seats (39 in the Chamber of Municipalities, 24 in the Sociopolitical Chamber, and 41 in the Chamber of Associated Labor); the League of Communists of Croatia—Party of Democratic Change won 13 seats (six in the Chamber of Municipalities, two in the Sociopolitical Chamber, and five in the Chamber of Associated Labor); the Serbian Democratic Party won three seats (one in the Chamber of Municipalities, one in the Sociopolitical Chamber, and one in the Chamber of Associated Labor); the Coalition of National Accord won three seats (two in the Chamber of Municipalities, and one in the Chamber of Associated Labor). Furthermore, three seats went to joint candidates of the League of Communists of Croatia—Party of Democratic Change and the SSH [the Socialist Alliance of Croatia], three to independent candidates, one to the joint candidate of the Croatian Democratic Community and the HSS [the Croatian Peasant Party], and one to the joint candidate of Croatian Democratic Community and the Croatian Social Liberal Party. These results have not decided everything yet because in the second round of elections, which will be held on 6 and 7 May, 572 candidates will be contesting the 200 [figure as published] seats still vacant. The League of Communists of Croatia—Party of Democratic Change will have the greatest number of candidates, 157; the Croatian Democratic Community will have 141 candidates; the Coalition of National Accord will have 106 candidates; the Socialist Alliance of Croatia will have 35 candidates; and other smaller parties will have 47 candidates altogether. There will also be 86 independent candidates. [passage omitted]

More Ballots Than Voters

Although one can already talk about the "final" results of the first round of elections in Croatia, the results for the Chamber of Associated Labor are still missing from nine polling stations. These are Pula 1, Pula 2, and Pula 3; Trogir; Osijek 4; Rovinj; Sisak; and Split 1 and Split 2. The first round of elections for the Sociopolitical Chamber will have to be repeated in several polling stations. These are Sisak 1, Samobor, and Labin; for the Chamber of Municipalities in Samobor, Rovinj, and Sisak; and for the Chamber of Associated Labor in Osijek, Sisak, Daruvar, Slavonska Pozega, and Zagreb-Centar. Electoral Commission President Milko Gajski told journalists that the results of elections in some places were annulled because the number of ballots in the ballot boxes exceeded the number of those eligible to vote. Pazin will have to repeat the whole election procedure for the Chamber of Municipalities because two of the three candidates decided not to run anymore.

HDZ Protests Rival Party's TV Statement

LD0205204690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 2 May (TANJUG)—A statement by the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Reforms was read on 1 May in the second most-watched Zagreb Television "newsreel" program. In this statement, that party invited our citizens to come and cast their votes. We believe this to be a propaganda concession to a party and demand that the Zagreb Television "newsreel" program accord similar treatment where other parties are concerned. This is the substance of a Croat Democratic Union statement today, which demands that the public be informed of the following in the same program:

Citizens of Croatia: During the first round of elections you voted for the HDZ [Croat Democratic Union] program and candidates. In doing so, you voted for the sovereignty of Croatia and of the Croat people, for democracy, and for a more secure future for yourselves and your children. The HDZ invites you, during the second electoral round, to come and cast your votes again so that we can complete together what we started together. Vote for a Croat future and not for the Communist past, says the statement in conclusion.

Croatian Communist Leader on New Parliament

LD0205214790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1945 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Split, May 2 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Croatia-Democratic Reform Party (SKH-SDP) is prepared to accept without comment the final victory of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), member of the SDP leadership Boris Malada said on Wednesday evening.

Addressing a campaign rally in Split, Malada invited voters to help with the creation of a strong democratic opposition in the second round of the parliamentary elections in the republic, set for May 6 and 7.

Such an opposition could resist all possible manipulation attempts by the wining party in Croatian parliament, Malada added.

The SKH-SDP (the former Croatian Communist Party which had a monopoly on power in the republic since World War Two) suffered a defeat from the HDZ in the first round of the first multi-party parliamentary elections.

Malada's statement indicates that the SDP does not expect to secure a majority in parliament even after the second round.

Malada said the SKH-SDP would insist that the Croatian parliament bring key decisions, such as on the new republican constitution and relations with Europe, by consensus since the winning party's right to operative power and decision-making on such issues are two quite separate matters.

"We expect the HDZ to show the democratic face it swears by on this, otherwise we will energetically rise against it," Malada said.

Tudjman's Croatism 'Bomb' Planted Under Republic

AU0205111590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Apr 90 p 3

[Seada Vranic commentary: "Promises for Victory? Program for Fear"]

[Text] Croatia voted for Tudjman last weekend. So say the incomplete and unofficial results of the voting in the first round of elections for the Sociopolitical Chamber and the Communal Chamber of the Assembly. The final result—since all the votes from both rounds are counted together—will probably somewhat change the arithmetic in the Assembly but, to judge by everything, it probably will not essentially shift the swing of the citizens' will that has been expressed so far. Moreover, it has not been discounted that the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC] will set up a single-party government. If this happens and if the (previous) will of the single party in the highest republican organs is exchanged for another, it does not mean that nothing has essentially changed. On the contrary, the penultimate April weekend has brought a historical change to Croatia whose repercussions are not yet foreseeable on a Croatian scale let alone on a Yugoslav one.

The CDC in power and the Communists in opposition is not a surprising result of the first round of the voting. However, the conviction of the populist support that will bring Tudjman and his party to the throne of power is nevertheless its own kind of surprise. Such a convincing (and for many people shocking) electoral success for the CDC and such a pronounced shift to the political right wing will definitely prompt numerous analyses not so much of the party itself—about which almost everything has so far been said (more in the negative than the positive sense)—as of the sociopolitical and sociocultural environment, which promoted Tudjman to victor. Nevertheless, no matter what discoveries the analysts make (not forgetting the one that the electoral law has in practical terms turned the multiparty elections into two-party elections, minimizing the chances of all other parties and crushing even the very pronounced ecological awareness in Croatia), it should be admitted that the will of the voters is irrefutable and the victory of the CDC is all the more legitimate.

Nevertheless, no matter how indisputable this fact is, no one is indifferent to it, since it is clear to everyone that everything will be different from now on. Whether it wins the kind of majority in both rounds of the voting that will enable it to govern by itself or whether it will be forced into a coalition, the CDC will be faced with completely different challenges to those that it faced while it was fighting for the votes of the electorate.

The victor will quickly realize that it is nevertheless easier to win over voters with simple formulas ("One's own kind together," "The Croatian purse in the Croatian pocket and the Croatian gun on the Croatian shoulder," "Let us decide for ourselves about our own Croatia") than to find oneself in the position whereby one tries to turn these explosive slogans into practical and—why not say it—very risky moves. After all, not even the public will be able to survive national tension for long if quick results and the promised prosperity do not follow. To judge by everything, Tudjman will not only have to confer with but also seek the help of his greatest opponents, because he did not achieve an electoral victory with economic and social promises and even less with a convincing program. Support has been given to his version of Croatism which could be a bomb planted under Croatia if its realization is not accompanied by the appropriate corrections based on reason, responsibility, and political wisdom.

If it is true that in their centuries-long history Croats have always aspired to independence and if their "associations" have not saved them from many frustrations, historical experience also shows that they were even less happy in the rare moments of their "independence," which was of a type that no reasonable person could desire.

The CDC did not offer voters any argument that would convincingly explain the claim that Croatia could be happier and better without the others in Yugoslavia. The CDC did not have any economic data or considered geopolitical analysis—it had absolutely nothing apart from the good wishes that the Croats will be "with their own kind"—to demonstrate that the Croatian people (because they were the only ones being addressed) could be more successful and satisfied without Yugoslavia. Not challenging, indeed, the right of the CDC to invoke "self-determination to the point of secession" but actually in the name of this principle and its literal meaning, the victorious party will have to think things over, at least because of the fact that republican and people's sovereignty are not one and the same thing. Croats do not only live in Croatia and any invocation of national sovereignty (in the sense of the totality of the Croatian national entity) means that the Rubicon would be crossed and other people's territory would be encroached upon. Does it still need to be said that that is the beginning of civil war?

Charges Filed Against Demonstrators

LD0205202390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1556 GMT 2 May 90

[Summary] Pec, 2 May (TANJUG)—We were informed today by the relevant personnel of the militia station in Decani that charges were filed on 1 May with the

offenses judge against Zekerijah Cana and 50 other people because they disturbed the public peace and order. During a gathering on 1 May of about 100,000 Albanians in the village of Gornja Luka near Decani, where the alleged reconciliation of 60 feuding Albanian families took place—of whom only about 10 were from the Decani municipality—the well-known Kosovo opposition leader provoked the security forces present by making obscene gestures, encouraging others to hamper the work of the militia, and demanding that militia equipment be removed from the site.

Kosovo Presidency Holds Session, Issues Pardon

AU0205160290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Apr 90 p 13

[TANJUG report: "New Pardons"]

[Text] Pristina—At its session held yesterday, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo discussed some questions pertaining to the security situation and all-people's defense, the implementation of economic and social reform, the reform of the political system, and the further development of democratic relations.

The announcement issued after the session said that the issues discussed were the realization of the equality of the peoples and nationalities; solutions to economic, social, and developmental problems; the problems of the consistent implementation of constitutionality; legality, accuracy, and efficiency in the work of state and other bodies; and other issues and tasks.

The Kosovo Presidency pardoned a certain number of sentenced people and established criteria for pardoning sentenced people on the occasion of 7 July, the Serbian Uprising Day.

'Victory' of Vlasi Trial Viewed

AU0305083790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Apr 90 p 3

[Milos Antic commentary: "'Victory' on the Scales of Justice"]

[Text] One of the most controversial and, moreover, political—as it was called from the very beginning—trials in postwar Yugoslavia, which has taken place in full public view in the Titova Mitrovica District Court, ended with the release of the main protagonist, Azem Vlasi, and 14 other "Trepca" managers and miners.

Books have already been written on why this trial was (not) a political or, as some people claim, a "Stalinist show" trial.

According to the Titova Mitrovica District Court—which is the court of the first instance, and as such exceptionally high level—and its higher tribunal, chaired by Ismet Emira, the accused were not guilty of the charges that had been brought against them, which were for the criminal act of undermining the country's social order through counterrevolutionary activities.

Among a politicized and divided public, the fact that the court made this decision without a single sentence's explanation, apart from the statement "that a written explanation would follow," has only thrown an additional veil of mystery over the whole trial and even over the judgment, which was made unusually quickly in only one working and one nonworking day.

However, all this does not in any way give anyone —apart from the participants in this dispute—the right to downplay the court's decision because it will be saying in its explanation how it made this decision and on what basis. In any law-governed state, the court must be independent and autonomous in this regard.

A quite different matter is the fact that both those who have been acquitted and the public prosecutor have the right to appeal: the former, as they have stated, in order to "demand compensation if what has happened to us can really be compensated for" and "to ensure that justice is done and bring to court those who pushed us into all this," and the latter, in order to demand that the court of the higher instance—the Supreme Court of Kosovo—"corrects an injustice." All this, however, should be left to the interested parties and judicial bodies to independently carry out to the end in the spirit of the law and justice.

In any truly law-governed state, these and similar—and even opposite—court decisions would not have attracted the public's attention to such an extent. However, since this trial had become a first-class media event even before it began, as well as a political barometer of "democracy and independent judiciary," and "the influence of politics and politicians in the meting out of justice" not only in Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia, but also in Yugoslavia, it is normal for such a court decision—and the same would happen had the opposite decision been made—to provoke different comments. The reason is simple: The Yugoslav public was also divided over this trial.

Even if there had been no other pressures whatsoever on the court, this would have been enough. And to tell the truth, the court bench of five was subjected to various types of pressure from the very beginning. Regardless of how this affected the court, this is best shown by "playing the film backward." Even before the trial began, some people had claimed that "the arrest had been ordered;" the "prosecutor had been handpicked and instructed;" "this involved a settling of political accounts;" "the wishes of dissatisfied Serbs and Montenegrins were being fulfilled," and so on. At the very start of the trial, the defense attorneys and the accused said that "this was a case of a political show trial;" that it was "ordered and carried out by the Serbian leadership with the help of Kosovo vassals;" "that the judge had been handpicked and he would hand down the sentence that had already been handed down;" "that the judge

was an Albanian emigrant;" and "that a former policeman was a juror on the bench." Many disqualifications were demanded of not only this court but of all the courts in Kosovo and Serbia. In brief, there were open doubts about the court and the judges.

On the other hand, this same court, whether it wanted to or not, "had to know" all the time that several members of the highest state leadership of the country constantly kept open the question of "dropping the charges against Vlasi and the rest." Only three or four days before the judgment was handed down, it was publicly told that if the court's decision was a conviction, "a new demand for dropping the charges would be made."

A third aspect is that the trial itself took place during the most tempestuous events in Kosovo; at the time of the emergency measures; during events in which people died; in the situation whereby the "Trepca" miners again tried to confine themselves in the mine "if the accused were not released;" at a time of many strikes, demonstrations, and new interethnic divisions; at a time when there was "the mysterious poisoning" of a couple of thousand young Albanians; during the appearance of single-nationality alternative groups that "rule the roost;" and at a time when civil war openly threatened because of the madness.

Without explaining its content, the court decision seems to have rejected in one fell swoop all the numerous intentional slurs, bargaining, accusations, politicking, suspicions, and whatever else. It has turned out—if it can be said thus—that the court acted independently and autonomously in making its decision and that it was not influenced by anything that we have and have not mentioned.

If this is so, if the court could remain isolated and at a distance from what was happening around it, then this decision—and the opposite one—really was a victory of the independence and autonomy of the court. This is something that really shows that we are "swimming" into democratization, into exercising the rights of a law-governed state, and into something that, if reason prevails and national emotions and exclusivity are pushed into the background, could be a way out of the vicious circle of Kosovo.

All those who are now "weighing up" the winners and the losers in this case —the winners would be "the fighters for the Albanian issue" and the losers "the Serbian leadership"—are greatly mistaken, primarily from a humane point of view and the point of view of civilization. When justice and the law are victorious, the winners are the law-governed state, its citizens, and the democratization in which everyone wins regardless of their national, religious, and any other affiliation.

This is because everything that has happened, happened at a time when the state of emergency was lifted in Kosovo at Serbia's suggestion; when almost all political prisoners were released from prison; when the law-governed state began to function to a great extent; when the pluralization of relations occurred; when ways for establishing dialogue were being sought.... Therefore, any attempt to "reap profit" from all that has happened, and is happening regarding democratization, for one's own national, nationalist, separatist, or any other dreams would be deadly for everyone who lives in this region.

The outcome of this trial and any trial in which the rules of a law-governed state are victorious can greatly relieve the burdened situation in Kosovo, particularly if no one "builds up" political points "for themselves" in it, because when these points concern a single nation in Kosovo, then they are dangerous in many ways. And Kosovo and its inhabitants have already had enough danger.

Criminal Charges Demanded Against Milosevic

AU0205133290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Apr 90 p 1

[I. Kocan report: "Criminal Charges Against Milosevic"]

[Text] Skopje—Professor at the Skopje Faculty of Law and president of the recently founded League for Democracy, Dr. Djordji Marjanovic, yesterday openly brought charges against Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Presidency for the criminal act of false accusations [lazno prijavljivanje]. He accused Milosevic of being the main culprit for the arrest and, what he considered to be the staged, court trial of Azem Vlasi.

In these criminal charges, Prof. Marjanovic says that "the sudden end put to the criminal trial of Mr. Azem Vlasi and his comrades at the Titova Mitrovica District Court, just as its sudden opening 14 months ago had been, is after all, one more proof of the well-known fact that this was a case of a staged trial. Motivated by the attempts on the part of the top politicians of Serbia, headed by Slobodan Milosevic, at calming national passions that had swelled due to the unenviable situation of a small number of Serbs and Montenegrins who have remained in Kosovo after an exodus of several years."

"However, those times are long gone when there was no restriction to authorities arresting people and sending them to prison without having to be accountable for their arrogance," Dr. Marjanovic goes on to say. "In the case of Mr. Vlasi and his comrades, justice is not and cannot be satisfied by setting him free after he spent 14 months in prison. In this trial, the damage was not only done to those who were innocent and nevertheless detained. The arrogance of the Serbian party leaders has created an endless number of enemies in the country and abroad to Serbia itself and therefore to Yugoslavia. Justice can be satisfied only if the culprits of this shameful staged trial are put in the dock themselves. One of them is well known: He is Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Presidency.

Addressing several thousand people at the famous Belgrade meeting, Milosevic explicitly promised this arrest and then fulfilled his promise only a few days later."

"Considering the fact that, both when he made that statement and at the time of the arrest, Slobodan Milosevic was fully aware of the fact that these people have not committed the criminal act of threatening the social setup in a counterrevolutionary way, according to Article 114 of the SFRY Criminal Code for which they were denounced," Prof. Marjanovic suggests the following:

"The federal public prosecutor should demand that the Socialist Republic of Serbia Assembly lift immunity from Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Presidency. One should request that the responsible and the local [stvarno i mesno nadlezni] public prosecutors file criminal charges against Slobodan Milosevic (and perhaps also some other people, members of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia) for committing the criminal act of false accusation, which is established as punishable by Article 205, Paragraph 2 of the Criminal Code of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. One should request that the responsible and the local public prosecutors of the respective court demand Slobodan Milosevic be sentenced to imprisonment of no less than 14 months." Finally, "the respective court should oblige the Socialist Republic of Serbia to compensate those innocent who were detained during the criminal trial at the Titova Mitrovica District Court for all financial and other damage done by the unfounded criminal proceedings."

Serbian LC Official on Vlasi Acquittal

AU0305114190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Apr 90 p 11

[Dj.P. report: "Disunity Within Unity"]

[Text] Titovo Uzice—The Presidium of the Titovo Uzice Intercommunal Committee of the League of Communists [LC] held a session yesterday at which it summed up the public debate held in the region on the document "Basic Orientations of the LC of Serbia as a Party of Democratic Socialism." Taking part in the session, Milenko Petrovic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia, said the following: "The LC of Serbia will no longer be the same sociopolitical organization as it was before and even less an organization holding a monopoly, because it has renounced its monopoly; that is, as of tomorrow, the LC of Serbia will become one of the parties. The Law on Political Parties will be adopted by the Socialist Republic of Serbia Assembly in the coming days.

"Serbia has been united for a year already, but some spheres of authority in Serbia are still not united. Had they been united, what happened in Titova Mitrovica on the day before yesterday, when that verdict was pronounced to a group of people who openly worked on breaking Serbia and Yugoslavia apart, would not have happened. However, the relationship of forces was like that and the judges made that decision with three votes in favor of acquittal and two against. However, these judges will be thinking differently when they start being elected at the republican level in the united Serbia tomorrow, and when authority in many other spheres starts being exercised over the whole of Serbia.

Serbian National Party Meeting in Bosnia Banned

AU0205171490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Apr 90 p 13

[N. Smiljic report: "A Stop Sign for the SNR"]

[Excerpt] Tuzla—The leadership of the Serbian National Renewal [SNR] is not allowed to present its ideas and programs in the village of Milici, near Vlasenica. This decision of the Vlasenica Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs is based on Article 8 of the Law on the Association of Citizens in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which includes an explicit provision banning public meetings by organizations and associations that are not registered with the corresponding court in the region where they want to act.

The meeting of the SNR in Milici should have been held yesterday at 1700 at the local Culture Hall at the initiative of several citizens there. The demand for a public presentation of the controversial party in the mining village near Vlasenica populated mainly by ethnic Serbs was submitted on behalf of the local initiative committee of the SNR. The demand to hold the public forum was submitted to security forces in Vlasenica on 25 April, but prospective speakers were not named.

The people who would have been presented at the meeting that did not take place in Milici were Mirko Jovic, Aleksandar Spasic, and Vuk Draskovic, president, secretary, and ideological leader and initiator of the SNR, respectively. There were also plans for Vojislav Seselj to appear. In any case, Milici should have been the first place in Bosnia-Hercegovina where the SNR expected to augment the number of its members outside the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

As we have learned unofficially, although the meeting in Milici was banned, it may still be held, despite the ban, just as representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community held their meeting in Listica about 15 days ago despite a ban. [passage omitted]

Slovenia's Kucan Weighs Election Results

PM0305081490 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 1 May 90 p 2

[Interview with Slovenian President Milan Kucan by Andrej Mrevlje; place and date not given]

[Text] [Mrevlje] The results of the parliamentary elections in Slovenia seem paradoxical in comparison to the results in the other East European countries. Indeed, the

former League of Communists of Slovenia obtained the most votes as a single party, whereas elsewhere communist parties have been heavily defeated. How do you explain this paradox?

[Kucan] The result of these elections in Slovenia could only seem surprising to someone who is not well acquainted with the Slovenian political situation and who has a superficial knowledge of the situation in the eastern countries. The radical changes in the East European countries are manifesting themselves in two main ways. The first, widely prevalent, is a traumatic change in the old regime. The second is an evolutionary process stemming from the encounter between social demand and the acknowledgment by the political class of the need for a radical change.

The latter path has prevailed in Slovenia: The social thrust for radical changes, stimulated partly by constant contact with the Western countries through open borders, encountered the realization by some top party leaders that it was impossible to resolve the crisis without radical changes and democratizations—even at the cost of losing absolute power. It took four years for this encounter to take place. This path has ensured that the tensions and conflicts expressed themselves gradually and that the various sides engaged in an open exchange and a democratic dialogue. Since it was the party that challenged itself and promoted the renewal process, the elections did not become a "vote against," as in other East European countries, even though different options existed in Slovenia. In Croatia, though they tried to follow the Slovenian example—and indeed they were encouraged by us—they failed to do in four months what we did in four years, so the elections did turn into a "vote against."

[Mrevlje] To what extent can the election result be attributed to any personal merit of yours?

[Kucan] I realized—but I was not alone in this—that Slovenia's situation was ready for the introduction of reforms. I realized this particularly, after a period working in Belgrade, that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia had adopted no program for change. I was also lucky enough to meet a group of people within the Slovenian party who thought as I did, and I rallied the radical demands expressed by the Slovenian Youth League, which had already constituted an opposition force for eight years and through which the political alternative was organized. I do not hesitate to admit that the integration of their ideas was fundamental in our action. This is perhaps where my merit lies—in having absorbed their ideas and defended them in Belgrade.

[Mrevlje] Is it not precisely because you are considered the leader best qualified to deal with Belgrade that you defeated Joze Pucnik, your main adversary?

[Kucan] Yes, I am sure that this was a deciding factor. Not so much because of my ability to negotiate with Belgrade, but because I offered more guarantees in my commitment to defending Slovenia's right to self-determination, in a non-disruptive manner. I would now like to stress two points that I believe were crucially important in determining the election result and that were underestimated by the opposition (the Demos candidate). The first point is that ever since its foundation the Slovenian party has declared itself a party for the defense of the Slovenian nation's interests. Over the past eight years, the Slovenian Communist Party has, in fact, defended not its own individual partisan interests but the interests of the Slovenian nation. This does not mean that it was nationalistic. The second point is the opinion that the Slovenian Communist Party took its present shape in contrast to Slobodan Milosevic. This is only partly true, because the "Milosevic phenomenon" also emerged in contrast to our conception of the democratization of society. The conflict between us and Milosevic exploded during the famous plenum in Belgrade four years ago when Milosevic wanted to impose the principle, "either for me or against me." Undoubtedly the constant contrast between these two ideas over the past four years did persuade the Slovenians of the wisdom of the Slovenian Communists' policy.

[Mrevlje] The impression is that the various Slovenian political parties' political programs are not very different from each other.

[Kucan] True, the two main political groups—we and Demos—did opt for a confederation. You must realize, however, that Demos declared itself from the outset in favor of Slovenia's separation from Yugoslavia and that, therefore, for them confederation represented no more than a transitional phase on the way to separation. Our path to confederation is different and is dictated by our specific position within Yugoslavia: While at the national level we belonged to the opposition, we were also a ruling party and, therefore, responsible for the country's situation. This is why initially we were very keen on a radical change in the existing federal system, and only later, when this proved impossible, called for a confederation, which represents a political system for the defense of Yugoslavia as a community of interests. Then Demos adopted a stance against any kind of socialism and for the abolition of the laws protecting ethnic minorities (Italian, Austrian, and Hungarian) on Slovenian territory, and this shows two further differences between them and us.

[Mrevlje] The new Slovenian parliament will have a majority composed of six widely differing parties. However, you will hold the presidency of the republic. Do you not believe that the conditions exist for numerous government crises?

[Kucan] It is not certain that this will happen. It is obvious, however, that the new majority will have to endure many trials. Before the elections, it was held together by the desire to win them. The solidity of this new majority will be seen already in the coming talks on constitutional amendments. I hope that it will be able to perform a constructive role and that it will shoulder its

share of responsibility in decisions affecting the country's future—that is, the defense of the rule-of-law state and a program for the development and reform of the Slovenian economy. Otherwise, it is possible that crises will occur, partly because a national unity government is unlikely. In the event of a crisis, the presidency's role will be strengthened; it will have to use all its moral prestige to ensure stability.

[Mrevlje] Before the elections, you often said that in the event of a victory you would hand in your party membership card. Was that a way of saying that you stand above the parties?

[Kucan] Yes, that was more or less it. I am convinced that in order to fully respect the Constitution the presidency must be able to extend its reasoning beyond the parties.

[Mrevlje] Do you believe that the debate on the new constitution will lean toward a presidential system? Will the presidency submit this proposal to parliament?

[Kucan] I am convinced that it is necessary to strengthen the idea of a parliamentary republic that will force all the parties to take responsibility for what they do. I believe that the new constitution will move toward a strengthening of parliament's role and a reduction of the presidency's staff. The president's functions will be confined to strategic decisions such as defense, security, and foreign policy and the power of initiative with respect to parliament. This does not imply a strengthening of the president's role, but the fact of the president's initiatives' originating independent of any party is very important.

[Mrevlje] One of the main tasks of the new parliament and the new government will, as you say, be economic recovery. Do you agree with the proposal made by Slovenian Liberal Party leader Joze Skolc, who wants to entrust this role to foreign experts?

[Kucan] I agree, but unfortunately there are not many Frank Zappas in the world. Prime Minister Markovic was lucky to engage Sachs. I think that it is necessary to verify our own strategies with foreign experts.

[Mrevlje] Immediately after the elections, you said that Slovenia intends to join the EC. Can you explain in more detail whether this will happen during your mandate and how?

[Kucan] Yes, I was speaking in general terms about our entry into the EEC, and I really meant that Slovenia should move toward Europe, creating equal cultural, economic, and social standards. Of course, not everything that comes from Europe is gold but for us at this point it is important to create the right conditions for Europe to be transferred here. We must recognize that we are not now capable of taking up the European challenge and that the lag in economic development and in thinking is great. A long process will be necessary, but it is not so much timing that is important for us but making a decision and working to implement it. If Yugoslavia follows our path toward democratization, I think that we will be able to find a common path toward entering Europe, otherwise we Slovenians will have to take our own initiatives.

[Mrevlje] So, the concept of federalism has become completely obsolete?

[Kucan] A democratic federation is at present impossible to achieve. One republic alone cannot lead the rest of the country. Years ago, we proposed a kind of democratic federation that would have been an alternative to Serbian hegemony, but at that time there was not enough political will to achieve it. It is now impossible to talk in these terms, while our confederal position means that we do not want to impose our choices on anybody else and that we will not accept anything being imposed on us. Only from this position is it possible to discuss any common Yugoslav interests. It is therefore necessary to define these interests or to note that they do not exist and, hence, to abandon the whole thing. The new Slovenian parliamentary majority is not in a position to start a dialogue with the other democratic forces currently present in Yugoslavia; nobody is trying to force it to talk with Milosevic, partly because I was the first to break off relations with him. However, I think it is necessary for it to check its own concepts and strategies with the new democratic forces emerging throughout Yugoslavia.

[Mrevlje] Do you also think that the Army can play a unifying role?

[Kucan] There were three unifying factors in Yugoslavia: Aside from economic relations, which were very weak, the first was ideology, which comprised the resistance, the revolution, and socialist building; the second was the League of Communists, which held the political monopoly; the third was the Army because of its defense role. The fact that Europe in 1992 will become a demilitarized zone with borders being opened up will strip the Army of its importance. In the future Yugoslav confederation there will be an interest in defense, and confederal unity will create armies that are either autonomous or joint, depending on the costs. The Army will, therefore, become simply an army, without a political role.

[Mrevlje] Let us turn to the elections. Do you think that the victory of the opposition in Croatia has changed the spectrum of the political forces in Yugoslavia?

[Kucan] Yes. If it was not clear before, I think it is now clear that if things continue in this way, the conditions for Yugoslavia's survival will no longer exist. At present, because of the nature of the crisis and in view of the methods of overcoming the crisis, every republic will have to rethink and redefine its own interests with regard to the nation.

[Mrevlje] Do you think that the Serbian-Slovenian conflict has moved to the Serbian-Croatian border?

[Kucan] In a way the election results are a demonstration of the criticism of Serbia. The Serbian marches on

Serbo-Croatian territory have awoken the Croatian syndrome and the consequences are visible.

[Mrevlje] Do you intend to invite Pope Wojtyla to Slovenia?

[Kucan] We have always been in agreement for a visit to Yugoslavia by the pope, but we have insisted that he should come to Slovenia because it is Catholic. I do not see any reason why the negotiations on the visit should not reopen. At present I think that Belgrade must decide and that the obstacle might come from Croatia.

Macedonian Political Situation Viewed

AU0205192690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Apr 90 p 5

[Dragan Nikolic report: "A Democratic Wave—'A Hot Tin Roof'"]

[Excerpts] The newly founded parties in Macedonia support the leadership of the League of Communists [LC] of Macedonia, which has recently been a subject of "media attacks." The leader of the Macedonian democrats, Professor Djordji Marjanovic, said, "Mr. Petar Gosev, ruling party leader, must be given credit for making Macedonia a more prominent subject on the Yugoslav political scene." According to Marjanovic, "This clash is about the future of Macedonia," about whether Macedonia will be a state community equal to Serbia, or only its fourth province. Ante Popovski, leader of the MAAK [the Association for All-Macedonian Action], says that "what was chosen is a fairly conservative method of exerting pressure," a method that characterized the times of the "most brutal party clashes in Stalin's era." Dimitri Galev, member of the Democratic Alliance of Peasants leadership, says that the "stands of the Central Committee [CC] Presidium of the LC of Macedonia are unifying," and that "he has nothing to do" with the attacks on Petar Gosev. Macedonian Socialist President Slavko Milosavlevski stresses that these issues are moral issues and that they should be "resolved within the strict framework of interparty relations, fully respecting the level of autonomy attained by the republican organizations of the LC of Yugoslavia."

More profound statements of support to the Macedonian leadership were heard on the news program of Skopje Television by Vera Aceva (the organizer of the Macedonian uprising in Prilep in 1941) and Kiro Gligorov, Macedonia's long-serving official in the federation and a supporter of reforms. According to them, the attacks on the Macedonian leadership are unfounded (it strives for a Yugoslavia based on the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles; it supports the reforms of Ante Markovic, unity in the Yugoslav People's Army, a democratic way of solving problems in Kosovo, and the equality and independence of the republican party organizations) and unjustified, because this leadership is only trying to take its own stand on key questions concerning the republic and the country. It is interesting that the signatories of the numerous letters and telegrams of support, which the Macedonian leadership is receiving every day, are Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Serbs, and so forth. At a seminar on the prewar Macedonian student movement (chaired by Risto Dzunov), Macedonian students studying in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Skopje "expressed concern" about attempts made to "disavow the leadership of the LC of Macedonia for adopting its views at the 10th congress of the LC of Macedonia, and its views after the congress," and about "crude untruths about the Macedonian party leadership" that were presented at the session of the CC Presidium of the LC of Serbia. NOVA MAKEDONIJA has energetically rejected the claims that the letter written by the "remainder" of the CC Presidium of the LC of Macedonian was kept hidden from the membership in Macedonia, reminding its readership that it published the letter and the ballot paper in an article entitled "A Lesson on Quasi-Democracy" as far back as 6 April (as soon as the paper received it and four days before the statement issued by the CC Presidium of the LC of Serbia). This article stated that "nobody can order the paper to publish or not to publish something. Such times have long since gone from this republic." NOVA MAKEDONIJA also accuses POLITIKA of "spreading an anti- Macedonian mood in Serbia and of inciting an anti-Serbian mood in Macedonia."

It was demonstrated that many polled Communists never heard about or saw the ballot paper. In some communities, statements were even made by people who are not alive. There have also been "constructive letters" from nonexistent readers and false letters of support from some communes. For instance, it turned out that the "letter of support" of 260 citizens of Kavadarci only bore an illegible signature.

Jordan Jordanovski, president of the Prilep party organization, says that his statement was published despite the fact that he had not even spoken to any journalist or made any statement to them. [passage omitted]

Disagreements between the "Macedonian reformers" and the party leadership of the country, especially Milan Pancevski, are nothing new. They started at the 10th congress of the LC of Macedonia, even earlier. The CC Presidium of the LC of Yugoslavia was allegedly the last to understand (and Milan Pancevski has still not understood) that democratic changes in the country are inevitable. It is claimed that the party leadership was against "political pluralism" until the last minute, and that it was this leadership that promoted the "idea about a partyless society," defended the so-called "direct socialist democracy" to the last breath, and frightened people with the market. It is also claimed that the country's party leadership defended until the last minute the concept of "a dominant social ownership," despite the fact that it was obvious that this "domination" is the source of our crisis and of various monopolies in the economy and politics. For this reason, it was often said here in Macedonia that the leadership was on the "tail of the tail of events." The letter that was sent to the

leadership was seen as the "last, desperate attempt to save the untenable, undemocratic, and antireform concept," and with this the position of those who "missed the democratic wave." In addition, the letter caused divisions among Macedonia's Communists on a national basis, especially in the areas where it was supported (such as Kumanovo). Therefore, the "Macedonian reformers" had to opt for either the letter or reforms. They were categorical in choosing the latter and in this way infuriated the media and the Serbian LC leadership.

Suvar, Bogicevic Meet Bosnian Leaders

AU0205164490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Apr 90 p 15

[M. Duric report: "Great Fear of the Croatian Democratic Community"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 April—SFRY Presidency members Stipe Suvar and Bogic Bogicevic had talks today in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency with the most senior and responsible leaders in this republic. On this occasion, Stipe Suvar stressed the important role of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and assessed its conduct as crucial in the current political situation in the country.

This is the only one of our republics that is not the national state of only one but of at least three peoples because, among other things, Bosnia-Hercegovina is also the state of the Croatian, as well as the Serbian people, Suvar stressed. According to Suvar, Bosnia-Hercegovina is also our most vulnerable republic because two of the strongest nationalities are fighting for and heralding a battle for Bosnia-Hercegovina. Therefore, this republic is also the most difficult republic. Aspirations from outside will make its life miserable. Suvar mentioned in this respect the "struggle for souls" and the attempts at usurpation by Croatia.

In this regard, Obrad Piljak, Presidency president of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, also mentioned the latest expressions of support that have been voiced for the Croatian Democratic Community branch. The latest occurrence was this morning when the desire was again expressed for the activity of the Croatian Democratic Community coordinating body to continue in some places in Hercegovina.

There is great fear of these parties, which would lead Bosnia-Hercegovina into a position whereby people would be fighting among themselves, stressed Piljak.

During these talks, Nijaz Durakovic, Central Committee president of the League of Communists [LC] of Bosnia-Hercegovina, pointed out sudden, overnight changes. Political parties which are different from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], have been presenting themselves and registering. According to its president, the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina adheres to the stand that the Communist organization is essential but on redefined programmatic bases.

Regarding the letter sent to the membership, Durakovic assessed that this was an attempt to salvage what could be salvaged, and added that the letter was a legal attempt to get out of a dead end, but this had led to division in Bosnia-Hercegovina even on a national basis.

Otherwise, in the assessment of Nijaz Durakovic, a conservative wing is operating in the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina that fantasizes about the survival of a classic organization that "smells" of the leading role and is based on old programmatic foundations. On the other hand, there is the reforming current that thinks that the LCY should develop into a modern party. A continuation of the extraordinary 14th congress under the present conditions would be, according to Durakovic, "an additional disgrace" along with all the previous ones. Durakovic, therefore, advocated a quite new meeting of Yugoslav Communists at which a document would be adopted, which would be created through a consensus of parts of the LCY.

Durakovic also spoke about meetings with party delegations in other republics. He mentioned the support that was given to the ideas of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Macedonia and the reservations that were expressed in Montenegro and the Yugoslav People's Army. He said that "the letter met with understanding" in Serbia since the LC of Serbia believes that the interrupted extraordinary 14th congress should continue.

Democratic Party President Protests Tito Cult

LD0205194790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1911 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 May (TANJUG)—In connection with the statement made by Josip Horvatin, Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] president, that 4 May this year "will be observed in the usual way" with tribute being paid to Josip Broz Tito by lectures in schools and barracks, by standing still in the streets as the sirens are wailing, etc., the Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka] protests against this kind of attack on the feelings of the citizens and prescribed respect [for Tito], says the statement signed by Democratic Party President Dr. Dragoljub Micunovic.

Josip Broz Tito's cult, the statement goes on to say, has caused Yugoslav society and the Yugoslav state enormous harm. We believe that to persist with this cult even 10 years after Tito's death is tantamount to a violation of human rights and of the dignity of SFRY citizens.

It is legally untenable and morally impermissible for an organization like the SAWPY, which has disintegrated, which enjoys no respect whatever, and which has not been able to get a quorum of its officials when vital issues concerning our country were to be discussed, is instructing the soldiers, pupils, and citizens to take part in the hypocrisy of paying tribute to the name and work [of a man] concerning which sufficient information can be found in papers every day to make one think differently.

Pupils, soldiers, and citizens must be protected against this kind of assault on their feelings and freedom of behavior. The adherents of Josip Broz Tito's cult can pay tribute to his name and work in their own homes or at meetings, but they cannot turn it into civic duty, says the Democratic Party statement in conclusion.

Hrvatin Elected Socialist Alliance President

AU0205131190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Apr 90 pp 1,3

[O. Nikolic, B. Oprijan, and V. Dzafo report on the electoral session of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia held in Belgrade on 24 April: "Hrvatin President, Micovic Secretary"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—Josip Hrvatin has been elected the new president and Dr. Vojislav Micovic the new secretary of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY]. Together with the new members of the Presidium of the "broadest front" who were appointed yesterday, they will be in their posts until October, when the Socialist Alliance will be transformed into an alliance or a movement. The number of delegates in the Federal Conference has been reduced from 125 to 99 since the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia (now a party) withdrew its representatives, as did the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Trade Union Federation, the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation, and the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, which also did not elect their members to the Federal Conference of the SAWPY.

The platform or program that should direct the future work of the SAWPY will be adopted after a month-long public debate. However, it was decided yesterday that prior to this, the Presidium should augment it with the proposals that are put forward. It was requested that its final text be published in BORBA. Two candidates (from Bosnia-Hercegovina and the sociopolitical organizations) were not elected to the Presidium even after a second vote, so the nomination procedure for the vacant places will be repeated. [passage omitted]

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

BORBA Under the Auspices of the Assembly

Almost unanimously and without debate, members of the Federal Conference decided that the founders' rights [osnivacka prava] to BORBA, Radio Yugoslavia, FILMSKE NOVOSTI, MEDJUNARODNA POLITIKA, JUGOSLOVENSKI PREGLED and JUGOSLOVENSKA REVIJA should be transfered onto the SFRY Assembly. [passage omitted]

New Presidium

The newly elected members of the Federal Conference Presidium of the SAWPY are: Dragan Zoric (Bosnia-Hercegovina), Dr. Pavle Bogetic (Montenegro), Dr. Branislav Kovacevic (Montenegro), Josip Hrvatin (Croatia), Marta Mikic (Croatia), Zivojin Cvejic (Kosovo), Metodi Petrovski (Macedonia), Stefan Filipovski (Macedonia), Dr. Vojislav Micovic (Serbia), and Dejan Milovanovic and Evica Ostojic (Vojvodina).

The Presidium also contains Slobodan Selenic, representative of social organizations and citizens' associations, Yugoslav Veterans Federation delegate Uros Bajic, and Yugoslav People's Army representative Milan Daljevic.